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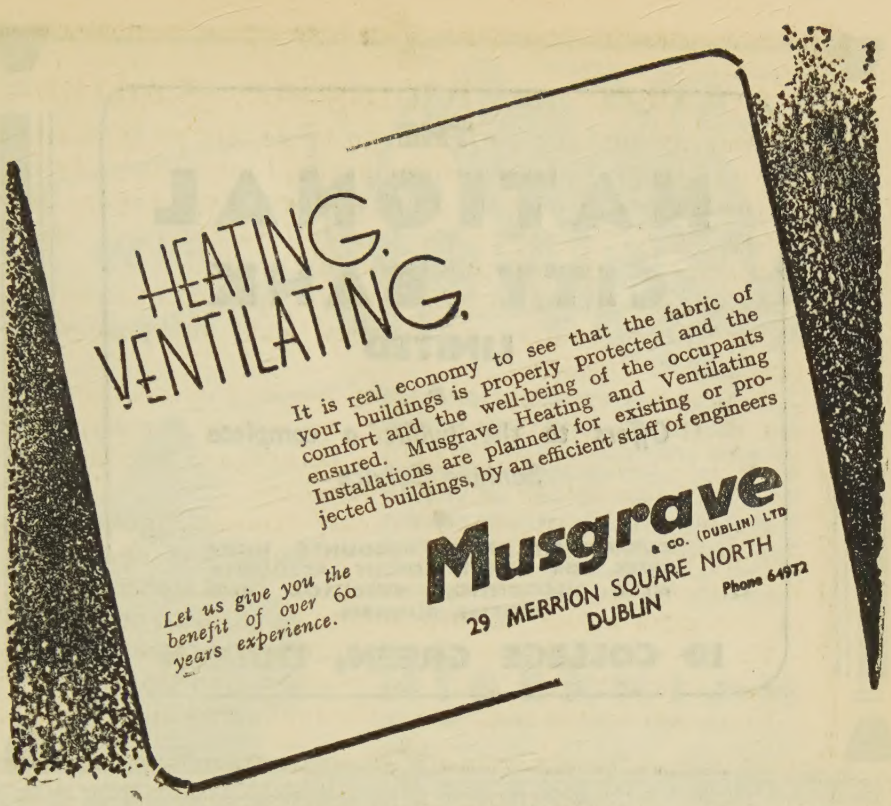
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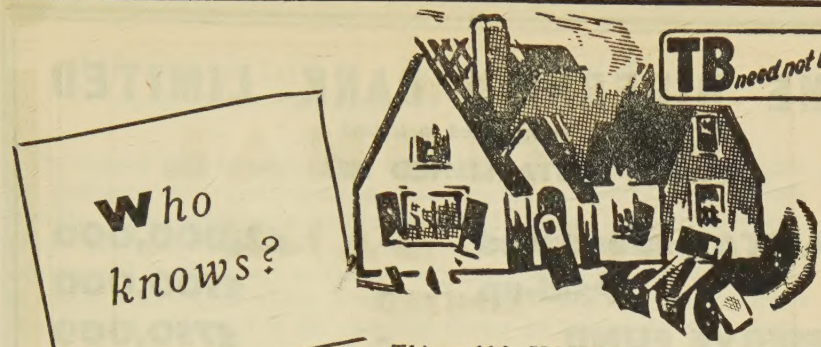

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BACKGROUND OF THE ITALIAN GENERAL ELECTION

BY DANIEL A. BINCHY
Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

HISTORIANS of the twentieth century will undoubtedly register April 18-19, 1948, as an important date in the history of Europe. But whether they will describe it as the turn of the tide or as one of the last rallies by Western Europe against an alien order, it is still too soon to say. The complacent satisfaction with which the results of the Italian election has been hailed (notably in the Irish Catholic press) as a ' smashing defeat of the Reds ' only shows how far removed from the realities of post-war Europe the (to my mind) disastrous policy of neutrality and isolation has left us. To these jubilant scribes I can only repeat Wallenstein's warning :—

Frohlocke nicht !
Denn eifersüchtig sind des Schicksals Mächte.

In sober fact the election has settled nothing, far less decided the destiny of Italy. All that has been gained is a breathing space during which those who believe in democratic government have a last chance to turn the flank of totalitarian Communism. It is only right to add that they have a reasonably good chance, far better than any observer would have dared to forecast a year ago. But the issue still hangs in the balance. And on the outcome depends the fate of that Western civilization to which Italy, once the centre of the Roman Empire and still the centre of the Universal Church, has probably contributed more than all other countries put together.

Had the so-called " popular front " secured a majority last April, the Sovietization of the whole continent of Europe would have become a mere question of time. France, where the Communist Party is not merely numerous and well-disciplined but, through its grip on the trade unions, controls the nerve-centres of the national economy, would almost certainly have followed suit by this. The Low Countries and Scandinavia would be powerless to stem the invasion. As for Franco's Spain, for reasons indicated later, I emphatically dissent from the view of many Catholic publicists that it would prove an impregnable bastion. And would the steamroller be halted for long by the English Channel—or indeed by the Irish Sea ?

Totalitarianism is a highly infectious disease. It is but a few years since we saw the Nazi form of it sweep across Europe in the wake of Hitler's armies. Had Germany won the war, the establishment of a Mosley dictator-

ship in Britain would almost infallibly have been followed by a " National Socialist " regime here, and there would have been no dearth of applicants for office. The Communist brand of totalitarianism is far more virulent. For one thing—in contrast to Nazism, which was frankly based on the hegemony of one master race—Communism professes to be an œcumenical movement with a world-wide mission of universal brotherhood. Hence its fifth column in every country includes not merely the baser types who would have been equally prepared to welcome a Fascist conqueror—the covetous, the work-shy, the disgruntled, and the ambitious—but also many generous spirits who take its promises of a better world at their face value.[1] Indeed the most terrifying thing about the new barbarism that threatens us is not the devilish brutality which it shares with other totalitarian regimes but its still more devilish power of evoking a quasi-religious fervour in so many hearts. Its cunning appeal to the highest as well as to the lowest human instincts gives Communism a vitality and endurance which Nazism or Fascism never possessed.

Take Italy for instance. In the recent election nearly all the best-known intellectuals, writers, and artists—many of them men of the highest integrity—ranged themselves behind the " popular front." What is the explanation ? A kind of atavistic recoil from the old bugbear of " clericalism " ? But this would surely be a very inadequate reason for their support of a Party whose success would have meant the annihilation of intellectual and artistic freedom. One can only conclude that these men, despairing of our present society, have been driven to hope that Communism, for all its terrors, carries in its womb the seed of a better world-order.

And what of the ordinary people of Italy ? Nearly eight millions of them voted for the " popular front," more than one in every four electors. Even among the peasants, in the most solidly Catholic areas, Communism has made disquieting inroads. Here we come up against the most sinister legacy of the twenty years of Fascist dictatorship. Those who have been accustomed to one regime of violence and regimentation are thereby " conditioned " for another which operates with similar methods. The objectives and the tyrants may change, but the climate of totalitarianism remains the same. This is particularly true of the young, who have been familiar with the single-party state from their cradle, and I believe that the great bulk of Communist supporters among the peasantry come from their ranks. Nothing could better illustrate the folly of those who tried to justify Fascist or quasi-Fascist regimes as barriers to the spread of Communism.[2]

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[1] So far as I remember, I never met, in Italy or elsewhere, a wholly disinterested supporter of Fascism. On the other hand I have met some convinced supporters of Communism whose sincerity is beyond all doubt.

[2] The truth is, of course, that one form of totalitarianism always serves as a warming pan for the other. For this reason I can well credit the report that there are many more Communists in Franco Spain than there were at the outbreak of the civil war.

This identity of technique between the two systems also explains why the Communists can rightly boast of their " record " in the resistance movement. Democratic Italians who detested the dictatorship—and their name is legion—were hampered by their own principles : they could not feel justified in meeting terror with counter-terror. Hence in the years before the war, the Communists, who were inhibited by no such scruples, formed the spear-head of " active " resistance. Later the first " partisan " groups were recruited from the underground *cadres* of the Party ; and though the movement afterwards included members of all the opposition Parties (including the Catholic Democrats), the sole credit for its achievements has gone to the Communists. After the war they stood out as the most coherent and best organized force in Italian public life, posing as the " liberators " of the fatherland, and endowed with ample funds from Moscow. All that they now lacked was a leader who could be trusted to echo his master's voice, and he too was duly provided by Moscow. Palmiro Togliatti, who had spent the war years being groomed in the Kremlin while the lesser fry at home bore the heat and burden of the day, arrived to take charge. Stalin had picked a useful satellite : Togliatti has proved to be an extremely able politician, capable of adjusting himself with remarkable skill to the vagaries of Russian policy towards Italy. Already he has succeeded in the first task assigned to him : the conquest of the Socialist Party.

Those wishful thinkers in Britain who were wont to assure us that the Socialists would provide the alternative to Communism must have been singularly ignorant of the history of Italian (and indeed Continental) Socialism. Since Italians do not share the British indifference to logic, their Socialist politicians have never been able to reconcile the basic cleavage between Marxism and democracy by pretending, *more Britannico*, that no such cleavage exists. From the beginning, therefore, the great majority of them have stood for a policy of " revolution," " direct action," and non-cooperation with " bourgeois " Parties and institutions. The minority of " reformist " Socialists, who believed in constitutional methods, were expelled from the Party in 1912 on the proposal of Comrade Benito Mussolini. Ironically enough, long after this paladin of Marxism *strictioris observantiae* had turned to " fresh fields and pastures new," the Socialists faithfully adhered to the line of conduct he had laid down : their obstinate refusal between 1920 and 1922 to join the Catholic Popular Party in forming a strong government opened the way for the Fascist seizure of power.

In more recent years, too, the Party has run true to form. Once more the vast majority have opted for a " revolutionary " programme. Only this time they have found a Party which rightly claims to have carried revolutionary Marxism to its logical conclusion already in possession of the stage. Like their colleagues in Eastern Europe, they have decided to link up with the Communists, thereby sealing their own doom as an independent

organization. The reader may well ask how, with the example of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and several other countries before them, the Italian Socialists could have adopted this suicidal policy. Partly I think from a feeling of Marxist solidarity, partly from the conviction that the Communists would overwhelm them in any event; but chiefly because they were led by Pietro Nenni, a pompous and unintelligent windbag, whose only qualifications for the post are his long record of anti-Fascism (most of it spent in the security of a Paris editorial office) and the rotund eloquence with which he repeats the Party *clichés* of fifty years ago.

Nenni is a strange survival, almost a museum piece. Even his pathological anti-clericalism has a curiously old-fashioned ring. Having returned to Rome during the Badoglio interval, he sought and found sanctuary within the Vatican City throughout the German occupation of the capital. Far from being softened by this experience, he seems to hate the Church all the more heartily for owing his life to the charity of its Head. At the present moment his anti-clerical tirades, as crude and intransigent as those launched by himself and his fellow-Socialist Mussolini forty years ago,[3] must be somewhat embarrassing to his new superiors, who (as we shall see) have a much more subtle technique.

Nenni's catastrophic leadership, culminating in the "sell-out" to Communism, had been viewed with dismay by some of the more moderate Socialists even before his decision to make common cause with Togliatti in the election. More than a year ago a small group headed by Saragat had seceded and formed a separate organization. But Saragat, though universally respected for his integrity and idealism, has none of the qualities of a popular leader, and most people were inclined to regard the new movement as still-born. On the eve of the election, however, it received a powerful blood-transfusion with the advent of Ivan Matteo Lombardo, who broke with Nenni over the so-called "popular front." Lombardo (now Minister for Industry and Commerce) is, unlike Saragat, a man of affairs as well as a shrewd politician, and some observers of the Italian scene predict (in my view without much basis) a great future for him. Be that as it may, the new group did reasonably well at the election considering its lack of organization and funds, yet nothing like well enough to make a serious dint in the "popular front." Had the Communists been opposed only by the Saragat Socialists, the Liberals (*magni nominis umbra*) and the numerous splinter parties—Republican, "Action," etc.—they might well have won the day.

But there was a "third force" in Italy which neither Mussolini nor Togliatti could ever win to the cause of totalitarianism. When Fascism collapsed, the Church emerged as the one institution which had success-

[3] He was Mussolini's principal lieutenant in the Forlì Socialist group, the wildest section of the Party. Both men were sentenced to a term of imprisonment in 1911 for incitement to violence and mutiny.

fully maintained its independence of the regime. This had been no easy task, for both the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat had been designed by Mussolini to harness the Church to his chariot. For a time it looked as if he might succeed. The obsequious adulation showered on this least religious of men by certain members of the Hierarchy, the enthusiasm for Fascism displayed by some of the younger clergy,[4] and the uncritical support of the Dictator's policies in some journals edited by ecclesiastics, all suggested that the Italian Church, in the new era of collaboration inaugurated by the Lateran pacts, was in danger of becoming an *instrumentum regni*.

Fortunately, however, this tendency was quickly arrested by the Fascist alliance with Nazi Germany, the adoption of what Pius XI called the " grave and gross heresy " of racialism, and the savage attacks on Catholic Action. In any event the danger had been perhaps more apparent than real. Even among the higher clergy, who (as the history of the Latin countries shows but too clearly) have always been most exposed to the temptation to barter their liberty for power and privilege, the great majority steadfastly resisted the pressure brought upon them to show their appreciation of Mussolini's " favours " by publicly endorsing his regime. Indeed, some leading prelates (such as the Archbishop of Florence) were well known for their dislike of Fascism and all its works and pomps. The opposition of the parochial clergy throughout Italy was remarkably solid and has evoked recognition in the most unexpected quarters. " Every *parocco* was with us," proclaimed Togliatti in a tribute to the helpers of the resistance movement. Add to all this the enormous impression made by the Pope's courage during the German occupation of Rome, when the Vatican City became a " city of refuge " for anti-Fascists of every political colour, and it is easy to understand why the Church, which Nenni had hoped to see " swept out with the rubble of Fascism," emerged from the fires of war and revolution, not merely unscathed, but with a great access of prestige in the eyes of the ordinary people.

So great, in fact, that the Italian Communists have hitherto refrained from attacking the Church as an institution. Wiser in their generation than their Socialist brethren, they are careful to exclude the lower clergy from their polemics, which are directed mainly against the " reactionary forces " in the Vatican and the Hierarchy. In their bid for the support of the peasants they never list the *parocco* among the " enemies of the working class," only his bishop and some of the religious Orders. And in vivid contrast to the earlier Socialists who in 1910—again on the proposal of Comrade Mussolini—declared the practice of religion to be incompatible with membership of the Party, Togliatti announces, like Cromwell, that

[4] With his usual wisdom and charity, Don Sturzo points out in his review of my book (*Church and State in Fascist Italy*) that my criticism of these philo-Fascist clerics did not make sufficient allowance for the real source of their ebullitions : the deep patriotism which the Italian clergy had always shared with their fellow-countrymen and which the tragic *dissidio* between United Italy and the Church had hitherto debarred them from expressing.

he will " meddle with no man's conscience " ; certainly he has not put churches out of bounds for his followers. A friend of mine who spent part of last year in a village on the Ligurian Riviera was surprised to find the Communist *sindico* and his henchmen at Mass. And in certain industrial towns the Party election meetings, apparently for the convenience of at least some members of the audience, were held immediately after last Mass on Sundays. This does not mean, of course, that the gulf between Communism and Christianity is less wide in Italy than elsewhere ; it simply means that the Italian Communist leaders are shrewd political strategists.

There is a further reason why Togliatti and his friends have generally soft-pedalled the quarrel with the Church. Anti-clericalism has always been a *bourgeois* movement, drawing its supporters from the professional classes, the teachers, and the middle-class intelligentsia.[5] Among the working masses it has no deep roots. The " class-conscious " worker who hates the Church hates it on account of its supposed connexion with " capitalism " and " exploitation," not on account of its supposed interference with the intellectual freedom of barristers or professors—" capitalists " and " exploiters " themselves. The Communists have been quick to realise that the old " Liberal " type of anti-clericalism, which was taken over by the Socialists at second hand, makes no appeal to the proletariat. On the contrary it can only alienate many of those for whose votes they are angling : the peasants, for example, and the industrial workers organized in Catholic trade unions, which have shown a steadily increasing vigour. Hence as long as Moscow's instructions are to use the machinery of Parliamentary democracy as a means to attain power, it is most desirable that the implications of the Kremlin's anti-religious policy should be kept from the Italian people.

Desirable, that is, from the Communist point of view. The Church, on the other hand, with its bitter experience of Communist tactics in Catholic countries behind the Iron Curtain, has every interest in joining issue with Togliatti and his friends while there is still a chance of defeating their plans. From a long-term standpoint it would obviously be far better if the Church could have fought Communism in Italy on the purely moral and " ideological " plane without having to descend into the political arena. But desperate maladies require desperate remedies. And in the present desperate situation the one political Party which has shown itself capable of meeting the challenge of the new totalitarianism is the *Democrazia Cristiana*. Behind this party the whole weight of the Church's support was concentrated in the election.

Don Luigi Sturzo, the illustrious pioneer of Christian Democracy in

[5] The recent attempt to revive the old-fashioned type of anti-clericalism shows this clearly enough. Papers like *Don Basilio* were owned, edited, and read almost entirely by the *bourgeoisie*.

Italy, when he surveys the chequered history of the relations between his movement and the ecclesiastical authorities, must surely feel a touch of amusement (there is too much of the saint in his disposition to permit his feeling any harsher emotion). The movement began towards the close of the last century as a revolt against the small political class which rigged elections and monopolized public life. It aimed (and still aims) at achieving a real instead of a sham democracy, Christian instead of secularist, social instead of capitalist. But its " advanced " labour and land policy, and still more its uncompromising refusal to accept any control by the Hierarchy in political matters, horrified most of the bishops ; and had not Leo XIII, that most far-seeing of Popes, thrown his shield over it, the *Democrazia Cristiana* would have perished in its cradle. Under his successor, Pius X, however, it avoided open condemnation only by suspending all its political activities. Yet this enforced abstention proved a blessing in disguise : by diverting the energy and enthusiasm of the leaders to the economic field, it laid the foundations of the vast network of voluntary organizations—co-operative banks, insurance societies, trade unions—which gave the movement a firm framework throughout the peninsula.

After the first world war the political arena was once more thrown open to it. Benedict XV, who did not share his predecessor's distrust of democracy and independent Catholic Parties, was content to wish God-speed to the newly founded *Partito Popolare*. Far from seeking to control it, he emphasized that the Church would accept no responsibility whatever for its programme or activities. And so at the general election of 1919, for the first time in Italian history, a democratic Party, pledged to work for a Christian social order but quite independent of the ecclesiastical authorities, entered the lists. Its success exceeded all expectations and, in the three years that followed, its record of constructive work in the Legislature and in the Government caused many observers to regard it as the Party of the future.

But in 1922 the whole position was radically altered by Mussolini's *coup d'état*, for which (as I have already indicated) the crazy refusal of the Socialists to form a strong coalition government with the *Popolari* was largely responsible. The small conservative wing of the Party, encouraged by certain high ecclesiastics, declared for co-operation in Mussolini's first " inter-Party " Government. On the other hand the great majority stood behind their leader Don Sturzo in refusing to collaborate on terms which implied acceptance of the Fascist breach of the Constitution. They fought on valiantly, but it was a losing battle. The new Pope, Pius XI, regarded them as an embarrassment to the Church in its relations with a Government which was otherwise disposed to be friendly.[6] Mussolini, for his part,

[6] Pius XI was much criticized at the time for his unfriendly attitude towards the *Popolari*, and there is little doubt that he forced Don Sturzo, under threat of canonical penalties, to resign the Secretaryship of the Party in 1924. But the Pope's view had much

having consolidated the Fascist stranglehold on the country, dropped the farce of " Coalition " and decreed the dissolution of all political Parties other than his own. Sturzo went into exile, and Christian Democracy in Italy, after a most promising start, seemed to have flickered out without hope of being rekindled. But in Mussolini's lath and plaster Empire appearances were even more than usually deceptive, as I was fated to learn from experience. As late as 1938 I found supporters of the *Popolari* throughout the length and breadth of Italy, many of them priests and all of them full of faith in the future. Even in the heyday of Fascist power a skeleton service still functioned under the noses of the secret police, so that immediately after the fall of the Dictatorship the Party, now given its original title of the *Democrazia Cristiana*, was able to resume its place in the national life. To-day it stands out as the only hope for the survival of democracy in Italy.

Yet its sweeping success in the recent election is attended with grave risks. From its beginning Sturzo intended it to be " a Party of the Centre with a bias towards the Left," taking a middle way between the unbridled capitalism of the industrialists who subsidized the various " Liberal " fractions on the one hand and the soul-destroying regimentation of the Marxists on the other. To function effectively, therefore, it pre-supposes the existence of a Right as well as a Left. But the old Right is virtually unrepresented in the present Parliament, whereas the Left is but too well represented ; hence the Christian Democrats have willy-nilly to fill the vacuum, and have received all the votes which would normally have gone to a more conservative Party. Many of those who supported them at the polls must be strongly opposed to their advanced social programme : Northern industrialists and Southern landowners, for example—perhaps also some of the more cautious Churchmen. It remains to be seen whether the Party leaders will be able to resist all pressure from vested interests in carrying out such items of their programme as the breaking-up of the *latifondi* in the South. For if they fail to implement their promises to the landless agricultural labourers and the industrial workers, the oft-repeated taunt that they are reactionaries masquerading under a democratic label will be used against them with deadly effect. Undoubtedly the Prime Minister, Alcide de Gasperi, will fight hard to put through the full programme of social reform in which he has always believed profoundly. But though he is a man of complete integrity, there are some who doubt whether he has sufficient personality to be the really great leader which the present crisis demands. If only Don Sturzo were twenty years younger and in unimpaired health !

On the other hand, de Gasperi's political acumen is amply proved by the composition of the new Government. Although his Party, having

to be said for it in the difficult circumstances that confronted him. The Fascists had actually threatened to hold the Church officially responsible for the activities of a Party which was led by a priest.

received an over-all majority, required no assistance from outside, he has given no less than nine out of the twenty seats in the Cabinet to members of other Parties, including three of the more important Ministries to the Saragat Socialists. The Prime Minister's gesture is as wise as it is generous, for it should act as a double insurance policy. First, against the fears (genuine or simulated) of those who talked of " clerical reaction." Second, against any attempt by members of his own Party to sabotage the social programme : a coalition government in which the Left has substantial representation should be sufficient to quell even the stoutest dissenter.

But there is a still more formidable danger inherent in the victory of the Christian Democrats. Here we touch on the great argument against all Catholic political parties, an argument that weighed so strongly with Pius XI, who was neither reactionary nor short-sighted, as to make him welcome the disappearance of the *Popolari* in 1926. A Party calling itself Catholic, no matter what pains it may take to assert its freedom from ecclesiastical control, is bound to be identified with the Church in the eyes of the ordinary semi-educated voter. Its enemies naturally exploit this ambiguity (as when, in the early days of Fascism, Mussolini used to denounce the *Popolari* as the " long arm of the Vatican ") ; and even its average supporter, who probably sees his parish priest and the local leaders of Catholic Action at its meetings, finds it hard to draw the necessary distinction. Hence hostility to the Party tends to become hostility to the Church, which is wrongly supposed to dictate its policy, and a new type of anti-clericalism is engendered. Worse still, the Church is also saddled with the mistakes, failures or delinquencies of the Party, and thus a highly dangerous confusion arises which may be fraught with the gravest consequences. In the past the Church has had to pay dearly for being too closely tied to secular institutions (e.g. to the monarchy in France) : it would be a tragic irony if, having successfully asserted its independence of all forms of government, it should now fall victim to an ambiguity which there seems to be no means of avoiding.

In the present case it must be admitted that everything combined to strengthen this ambiguity. Throughout the career of the *Partito Popolare* whatever support it received from Churchmen was entirely unofficial, and there were prominent Catholics, clerical as well as lay, who openly proclaimed their disagreement with its programme. Notwithstanding this obvious lack of solidarity, the Party's political opponents—first the Socialists and later the Fascists—were able to misrepresent it as an official organ of the Church. How much easier will be their task to-day ! The highly successful propaganda campaign waged by the Catholic Action organizations, and the dramatic intervention by the Pope himself on the eve of the election, showed clearly that the full support of the Church was being thrown in behind de Gasperi. It is of course quite true that the faithful were urged to vote against the Communists and their satellites, not for

any political Party ; but as the *Democristiani* were the only real alternative to the so-called " popular front," the implication was obvious enough.

How far the open support of the Church affected the issue it is impossible to say. A few of my Italian friends who, though followers of de Gasperi, feel somewhat apprehensive about the eventual consequences of this new departure, assure me that their Party would have won handsomely in any event.[7] An outsider is quite unqualified to pronounce on this delicate question : he can merely record that an absolute majority of the Italian people have shown their agreement with the Church in rejecting Communism and giving power to a Party with a definitely Christian programme of social and moral reconstruction.

Everything will depend on how this power is used. It would be foolish to deny that the de Gasperi Government faces a situation bristling with dangers. Italy is still a very sick country, economically as well as politically. Though much progress has been made in the work of material reconstruction, the gap between wages and prices is still wide, extremes of wealth and poverty are still far too common in the great cities, and financial chaos has led to widespread demoralization. Marshall aid, if wisely administered, may meet the country's most pressing needs, but it cannot solve the problem of finding an outlet for the surplus population of an exceptionally prolific people. Here only a statesmanlike approach to the colonial question by Italy's former enemies, coupled with a modification of the American immigration laws, can bring lasting relief.

Above all, there remains the agonizing problem of securing political peace. The Communists are still numerically strong, and their control over most of the trade unions gives them a weapon which they will use without stint or scruple if ordered to do so by Moscow. We have seen it employed recently after the criminal and foolish attempt to assassinate Togliatti. Even if (as is probable, though by no means certain) the Kremlin has decided that it has more to gain by continuing its present policy of sapping the foundations of Western society from within than by engaging in open war, the chances of its ultimate success are far from negligible. To ward off this deadly menace Europe needs something more than the bleak humanism which is all that the Anglo-American purveyors of democracy can contribute to our spiritual crisis : it needs both faith and works. An attempt to supply this twofold need is the main programme of the Party which owes its inspiration to a great Christian and a great democrat, Luigi Sturzo. And all those who know and love him will pray that he may be spared to see the ideas for which he has sacrificed so much triumphantly vindicated in a saner and better Europe.

D. A. BINCHY

[7] Certainly Togliatti's Russian masters did much to help his opponents. It is one of the minor ironies of contemporary history that the Kremlin should have backed Tito so vigorously in the matter of Trieste, thereby ensuring that no patriotic Italian would vote Communist.

IRISH CULTURE IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

A Recent Book by a Belgian Scholar*

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En réalité l'Irlande ne fut jamais, comme on l'a cru trop longtemps, le paradis de la civilisation, l'asile de la culture durant les siècles des invasions (Masai, p. 33).

Pendant que la Grande-Bretagne devenait ainsi l'émule des pays les plus civilisés et s'apprêtait à susciter sur le continent la " Renaissance carolingienne," l'Irlande faisait " piètre figure." Nous n'aurions peine à le deviner, mais Bède nous l'a dit fort explicitement, les Irlandais—même les clers et les évêques—sont alors des rustres et des barbares habitant un coin perdu de l'univers. (Masai, p. 35).

Si la miniature irlandaise doit nous renseigner sur le peuple de l'Irlande, ce ne sera certes pas pour nous apprendre son haut degré de civilisation ni son bon goût, mais plutôt pour nous révéler une profonde barbarie essayant d'imiter tant bien que mal des voisins plus civilisés (Masai, p. 136).

" LA miniature irlandaise est à la mode," declares M. Masai in the preface of the book he has published recently on " the origin of the so-called Irish illuminated manuscripts." It may have become fashionable to study Irish illumination ; but what is certainly becoming a fashion amongst historians and archaeologists is a tendency to reduce to practically nothing the contribution of Ireland to the artistic, spiritual and intellectual civilisation of the Early Middle-Ages. It may be partly a reaction against the rather misguided infatuation of writers of the nineteenth century for anything which could be described as " Celtic." But the chief attack came, since about 1930, from English scholars animated by a great nationalist zeal who suddenly discovered that the so-called " Dark Ages " of English history were really a period to be proud of. It was all started by a famous lecture of T. D. Kendrick to the Archaeological Congress in London, where he described the British Museum as the Aladdin's cave of English history. At that time, it was only a question of rediscovering the splendid series of English cloisonné brooches. Then came the English high crosses. All this was very useful and necessary work. But things became a little more questionable when part of what had been so far considered as Irish art began to be used as building material in that monument to the Anglo-Saxon Renaissance. The hanging-bowls were annexed first ; then, slowly, a tendency grew to draw around the Book of Lindisfarne—considered, in a rather paradoxical way, as the great masterpiece of this Early English Art—the other Irish manuscripts.

I

This tendency did not affect only the study of archaeological objects.

* *Essai sur les Origines de la Miniature dite irlandaise.* Par F. Masai, Bibliothécaire au Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles. (Bruxelles. 1947. Pp. 146. Planches 64.)

When it came to dealing with the problem of the activities of the Irish missionaries in England and the importance of the Irish Church in the seventh century, two attitudes can be noted : either the Irish missions are passed over lightly and the Irish in England are dismissed as suspicious heretics opposed to the orthodox missions sent from Rome ; or there is the much more engaging solution of Mr. Kendrick who tells us that the Irish Church was really nothing but the British Church which was driven into exile by the coming of the Saxons and which later returned " to the land of its origin " with St. Aidan. Both systems are really efforts to palliate a very obvious difficulty.

M. Masai, posing as a revolutionary whilst following in reality a now well-established fashion, has simply brought these theories to their utmost development—to a point where they border on paradox. The sentence quoted above gives a good idea of the general tone of the book : " Si la miniature irlandaise doit nous renseigner sur le peuple de l'Irlande, ce ne sera certes pas pour nous apprendre son haut degré de civilisation, ni son goût, mais plutôt pour nous révéler une profonde barbarie essayant d'imiter tant bien que mal des voisins plus civilisés." With the exception of a few late and rather crudely decorated manuscripts, he denies to Ireland all the illuminated books which are usually described as Irish.

To judge M. Masai's book in its true light, one must understand that it belongs to the category of war books written by historians or archaeologists who, unable to travel or get hold of the latest publications, were obliged to work with the resources of libraries within their reach. Ireland has been the subject of several publications of this kind : besides that by M. Masai there are some Scandinavian publications, the most outstanding of which are an article by Mr. Forsânder, the late curator of Lund Museum, and the first section of the very remarkable book which Mr. Aberg has just published on " The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century." It is interesting to compare the conclusions reached, quite independently, by these various scholars and, on the other hand, to check them on the discoveries made in Ireland and in England during these last eight years. The Scandinavians tend to give a tremendous importance to Ireland in the elaboration of Early Mediæval art—in fact, they are not far from a tendency to exaggerate the part she played. M. Masai, going to the other extreme, takes everything from her. The result of war-time discoveries, if they do not confirm all the Scandinavian hypotheses, certainly do not tally with M. Masai's conclusions.

In fact, this second-hand information is the defect which undermines M. Masai's book. He confesses, in a perfectly straightforward way, that he was working from photographs—mostly those of Zimmermann ; a good deal of his information comes also from the very exhaustive study of Miss Geneviève Micheli, " L'enluminure du Haut Moyen Age et les influences irlandaises," which appeared during the war in Brussels, where

M. Masai is an official of the Royal Library. Irish illumination was as good an antidote to war-worries as anything else ; and if one cannot help feeling that some of the violently pro-British colour of the book comes from the circumstances in which it was written, this can easily be sympathised with. But we have a right to be a little more surprised when we see M. Masai concluding his manuscript on the 1st of August, 1944. At that date, events were beginning to take such a turn that any cautious historian would have preferred, before sending his book to print, to wait the few months which separated him from the moment when travelling would again be possible. In fact it seems that, even before the war, M. Masai never saw any of the manuscripts he is studying. He has not the faintest notion of their colours, and only knows each of them from a few disconnected plates which cannot give him the general aspect of the book. This leads him to the most inconsiderate statements : for example, he speaks of the " Christi autem generatio " of the Book of Durrow as written " d'une seule teinte." The expression itself is ambiguous ; does he mean written only in black ink or in ink plus one colour only ? The actual fact is that the letters are written in black and bright yellow on an abundant background of red dots, so that the whole effect is a very bright polychromy. Has he any idea, as a matter of fact, that the whole book is decorated in three colours only ? One wonders. He says, interpreting a passage of Zimmermann, that " les cadres entourant les canons . . . . se réduisent à un encadrement monochrome sans ornements." Somewhere else he refers to these same frames of the canon pages as " un simple trait monochrome." The truth is that the frames of the canon pages of the Book of Durrow are all made of a thin band of interlacings and are all essentially polychrome. M. Masai has several other suggestions which are in the same vein.

Another disconcerting aspect of this work is its very incomplete bibliography. M. Masai tells us that he has no intention of giving a complete bibliography of the subject, as it is to be found " complète, trop complète peut-être " (?) in the book of Miss Micheli. It is certainly not necessary to do again work which has been already well done. Apart from that, who is the writer who has not been guilty at some time or other of omitting or ignoring some article connected with his subject ? But in the case of M. Masai, the omissions are startling. It is not a little surprising to see that he ignores T. D. Kendrick's " Anglo-Saxon Art," which appeared well before the war, in 1938 ; he would have found in it some views corresponding to his own, but based on a more sound information and expressed in a much more guarded way. He does not seem to know Mahr's " Christian Art in Ancient Ireland," published in 1932, whose plates would have been invaluable documents for him. Besides, there are other books, written centuries ago, which he treats in a very off-hand way. He dismisses Bede with a mention of his " ouvrages immortels." Unbounded compliments never ring true. Bede's works are certainly admirable, but the best way

to show that they are immortal is to read them. Had M. Masai pored over them a little longer than he seems to have done, he would probably have found in the "Historia ecclesiastica"—that somewhat incoherent and overintricate but so perfectly candid a work—besides a few statements which would have gone to strengthen his theory, many others which give a picture of seventh century Ireland and the Irish missionaries in England that would probably have surprised him not a little. Bede, who has an intense dislike for the party of the Scotti who were not in accord with the Roman usage, can in no way be suspect of partiality to the Irish. In the same way, if M. Masai had only glanced at the Irish Annals, he never would have written such an amazing sentence as: "Les Danois et autres barbares du Nord ne nourrissaient aucune haine à l'endroit des institutions chrétiennes"; nor would he have talked of Viking-harried Ireland as a place "où plus d'un Anglais se réfugia sans doute lors des invasions des Vikings."

II

Let us now examine the general trend of M. Masai's theory. He goes warring against what he calls "la théorie traditionnelle," "l'opinion reçue," etc.—that is to say the theory which considers the manuscripts which he studies as the work of Irish painters. He says that he finds it a little antiquated (vieillie), in itself a poor reason for getting rid of it. He thinks that it is based essentially on the colophons—and specially on the colophon of the Book of Durrow, which was understood for a long time as ascribing the writing of the Book to St. Columba. To these archaic opinions he opposes his own solution. The Book of Durrow would be the product of a Northumbrian scriptorium about 700—very little older than the Book of Lindisfarne, which he dates c. 720–30. They would be both—as well as the Codex Epternacensis, MS. A. 11. 17. of Durham, and a few other manuscripts closely related to them—directly influenced by metal-work. The evolution from the Book of Durrow to the Book of Lindisfarne would have been very rapid and would have taken place in an atmosphere of great secrecy, the manuscripts being jealously kept in a few monasteries. This would explain why the Book of Durrow appears as an isolated work having as sole direct posterity the Book of Durham and the Codex Epternacensis. The close relation in the shape of the capitals, paleographical characteristics, peculiarities of the text, everything would confirm this point of view. The Irish imitations would come much later; they consist only of a few crude works. All the manuscripts of the first group being imitations of metal-work, there is no need to suppose that the Book of Durrow has been preceded by a long series of experiments. M. Masai is even tempted to consider it as the first attempt at illumination in this style made by the painters of Northumbria, already trained in the art of decorating manuscripts, as is shown by the decoration of the Codex Amiatinus done in Jarrow or Wearmouth after models imported from Italy. These North-

umbrian artists would simply have changed from the imitation of an imported art to the rendering on parchment of their native decoration already existing in metal-work.

M. Masai's arguments in support of this theory are very varied. He thinks that he has demonstrated the futility of the " traditional " thesis by affecting to consider it as based solely on colophons such as those of the Books of Durrow, Dimma and Mulling which everybody knows now to be fakes or to have no chronological value at all. Once the irrelevancy of the colophons has been demonstrated, everybody would have gone on, out of sheer inertia, using the hypothesis of an Irish origin, now devoid of support, and transferring to the end of the seventh century arguments originally applied to the sixth century.

Then M. Masai considers the possible historical backgrounds and opposes to the Irish " barbarie " a dazzling picture of Northumbrian civilisation. He remarks that, as the Book of Durrow belongs to the end of the seventh century and the Book of Lindisfarne to c. 720, their influence could only be felt on the Continent in the beginning of the eighth century. But the eighth century missions are English missions, those of Willibrord and Boniface. Several manuscripts which may be products of the scriptorium of Echternach, founded by Willibrord—the Codex Epternacensis, the Gospels of Maihingen, the Gospels of Trier—are connected, not with Irish missionaries but with the English Benedictines. Ignoring the fact that Willibrord had lived for twelve years in Ireland, he assumes that the English missionaries would take with them only English manuscripts. Then, if they were thus exporting manuscripts to the Continent, why not assume that they were also exporting them to Ireland, which would explain the presence of the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells in Irish monasteries?

M. Masai examines the decorative elements of this " so-called Irish Art " and finds that the Germanic elements predominate and that the metal-work imitated by the painter of the Book of Durrow (animal-interlacings, spiral discs from hanging-bowls) is all of Anglo-Saxon origin. Besides, in Ireland the first dated monument is the cross of Bealin (circa 800). He tells us that before that there are only slabs, which are not of " Irish style," but are decorated with crosses and marigolds in pure merovingian style.

III

These arguments are of very different nature and importance. I do not intend to examine them all, as a volume would be needed for the discussion; but the core of the theory is really what concerns the Books of Durrow and Lindisfarne. If M. Masai's arguments on these two points prove to be insecure, we shall be fairly well able to judge the value of the theory as a whole.

As I intend to keep mostly to archaeological points, I am not going to discuss in detail the opposition between a Northumbria depicted as a spiritual and intellectual El Dorado and a barbaric Ireland. In fact, it is based on a complete ignorance of the texts. But the strange way in which M. Masai deals—or does not deal—with the Irish missions in England has too direct a bearing on the origin of the Book of Lindisfarne to be left aside. Anybody who would happen to read his book without a thorough knowledge of the subject would never guess, from what he says, that Irish missionaries were the first to achieve anything in the conversion of Northumbria and that the centre of their activities was the eremitic monastery of Lindisfarne, erected on an island off the coast of Northumbria. Before the time of Bede and Benedict Biscop there had been the mission of St. Aidan, an Irishman sent from the monastery of Iona at the request of the king of Northumbria, Oswald, who had been himself partly brought up by Irishmen. Bede does not tell about these first preachers of the Christian faith in Northumbria the same tales of erudition that he tells of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, but he certainly does not describe them as illiterate barbarians. He speaks of Aidan as " a man of singular gentleness, piety and moderation," whose austerity and abnegation he compares wistfully to the " slothfulness " of Northumbrians in his time—adding that " all those who bore him company, whether they were tonsured or laymen, had to study, either reading the scriptures or learning psalms," and that " this was the daily employment of himself and all that were with him." This mention of studies reappears whenever Bede refers to the Irish ; in fact, he seems to think of the Irish missionaries as having practically always a book in their hand.

Up to 664 Lindisfarne, as we know it from Bede's writings, was a thoroughly Irish monastery. When the usage of the Celtic churches in the calculation of Easter had been condemned by the synod of Whitby, the Irish left with their abbot Colman. But we should not forget that the South of Ireland had rallied much earlier to the Roman computation, and the connexion with Ireland was so far from being severed that the next abbot of Lindisfarne was an Irishman from the South. His successors were all English, but at first they were all taken from amongst those English monks who had been educated by St. Aidan—and all of them were probably completely imbued with Irish culture.

If we accept the information given by the colophon of the Book of Lindisfarne, we have to consider it as written by Eadfrith, who was abbot from 698 to 721. His successor Eathewald seems to be responsible only for the binding of the book, and not for the illuminations as has been sometimes assumed. So we do not know who the painter was ; but it is in no way impossible that he was Irish, or trained by Irishmen. There is a poem—mentioned by M. Masai—where the Saxon monk Ethelwulf praises the talent of the Irish illuminator Ultan, who seems to have been a monk of

Lindisfarne in the beginning of the eighth century. So we are quite justified in considering the illuminations of the Book of Lindisfarne as done in a very definitely Irish atmosphere. Northumbria at that time would then appear as divided between two different tendencies : on one hand, there would be the Irish tradition of Lindisfarne ; on the other, the much more italianised milieu of Jarrow and Wearmouth represented in illuminations by the Codex Amiatinus. That there was a close contact between the two is shown by several features of the Book of Lindisfarne : its text itself, the portraits of the Evangelists, etc. But it remains to be explained why the monks of Lindisfarne were using such a different style from that of the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth. M. Masai's explanation is that the monks of Lindisfarne applied the art of illumination, which had been taught to them by the italianised monks of Benedict Biscop, to the native motives of the Saxons. If this was really the process, why did it not take place amongst the Saxons of Wearmouth ? They had built a church, as M. Masai remarks, which has some very distinctly Saxon features. Why then was it in the still very Irish atmosphere of Lindisfarne that the transformation took place ? We are entitled to ask : was it not because the non-Italian elements of the Book of Lindisfarne, far from being Saxon, were really Irish ? Was it not because the Irish-trained monks of Lindisfarne were mixing their own style with the Mediterranean elements favoured at Wearmouth ?

IV

Thus we are brought quite naturally to examine earlier illuminations and specially the Book of Durrow, which everybody—even M. Masai—agrees to be anterior to the Book of Lindisfarne. Does it, as M. Masai would have us believe, represent a transcription on vellum of Saxon metalwork ? Or could it represent an early Irish tradition, that tradition which still survived in Lindisfarne around 700 and was adapted, in a more elaborated form, by the painter of the Book of Lindisfarne ?

M. Masai, who—for obvious reasons—gives the Book of Lindisfarne as late a date as possible (720–30), considers that the Book of Durrow dates from about 700. He certainly thinks that, by giving them such dates, he has safely put them far enough from any contact with the Irish monks, who (he thinks) had left Lindisfarne for ever in 664. But in reality the Book of Lindisfarne can belong to any date within the abbacy of Eadfrith (698–721). Mr. Millar has even suggested that it might be earlier, and that it could have been written by Eadfrith before he became abbot. However, the usual tendency is to date it c. 700, which would bring it very close to the date of the Codex Amiatinus, with which it has so many points in common. The Book of Durrow could then be dated c. 670–680.

Whatever its exact date, the problem remains essentially the same : where is it possible to find a suitable artistic background for the illumina-

tions of the Book of Durrow? It has all the essential features of the other manuscripts: it has interlacings, spirals and animal-interlacings; but, except for some interlacings combined with spirals in the capitals, they are generally kept apart from each other and not in constant juxtaposition and combinations as in the other books; besides, its interlacings are practically all of a wide ribbon type very different from the wiry appearance of the interlacings of the Book of Lindisfarne and all later illumination. One page of animal-interlacings shows three versions of the same beast which is of a completely different character from practically all the interlaced beasts of so-called Irish work, and which is only to be found in MS. A. 11. 17 of Durham or on some Saxon metal-work. It has "carpet-pages" of decorative motives, like most of the other books, but they are very simple in structure and much more primitive in appearance than the carpet-pages of the Book of Lindisfarne or the Book of St. Chad. In the same way, its decorated capitals have the same general structure as those of Lindisfarne or even Kells; but they are smaller, occupying a less dominant position in the page, and their decoration is much simpler. As for the colour-scheme of the Book of Durrow, it is very simple; being reduced to red, yellow and green, without the blue and purple which play an important part in the decoration of the Book of St. Chad and the Book of Lindisfarne. Similarities and differences, everything points to the Book of Durrow as being the earliest of the illuminated manuscripts of the "Irish" style. But if it appears at the head of the series, in many ways it seems to be rather isolated: its interlacings, its animal-interlacings are of a peculiar type; and its general appearance, its simplicity and directness of decoration are very different from the florid aspect of the later style with its constant blending of all the elements of ornament. So, when we are looking for its background, we must look for works of art where some at least of its peculiarities will be found.

V

The real background of the Book of Durrow is given by some carvings and metal-work. The carvings are Irish; the metal-work is, in part, of a hitherto debated origin. Let us examine the carvings first. As we have seen, M. Masai, following Mr. Clapham who was writing in 1934, says that the Irish slabs preceding the high crosses are decorated only with Greek crosses in a circle and marigolds, which are decorative elements of the Merovingian and Visigothic style. For this reason he refuses the name of "Irish" to this "art of Ireland," keeping the epithet "Irish" for the manuscripts which he shows afterwards not to be Irish . . . . . , and he tells us that in the seventh century Ireland was still speaking a foreign language in art: "Elle parlait visigothique ou copte, alors que la Northumbrie s'exprimait déjá en parfait 'irlandais'." Let us leave aside for a while all this casuistry and examine facts.

It is true that there are in Ireland, as in the rest of Christendom at that time, including England, monuments with the cross in circle and marigolds. There are even monuments like the Carndonagh or Fahan slabs, to which M. Masai would deny the epithet of " Irish " because the spiral does not occur on them. This period of the large slabs and the first slab-crosses is a province of Irish Art which was not too well known until quite recently. Given the type of slabs which were known at the time when he was writing, Mr. Clapham was nearly right in his remark. But if M. Masai had tried to find out what has been discovered since 1934, he would have seen that the situation is now very different. In fact if he had only looked at Crawford's book on Irish ornament, which was published in 1926, he would have been more cautious in his assertions. Actually, there is a series of slabs which is now well known and which provides most of the background of the Book of Durrow. Those of Reask, Inishkea North, Inishkea South, and one of the pillars of Carndonagh are decorated with spirals. One of those of Inishkea North and the slab of Duvillaun have engraved crucifixions which have some points in common with the crucifixion of Durham MS. A. 11. 17. The slab of Ballyvourney, the cross of Carndonagh and the Fahan slab have little figures with a bell-shaped dress similar to the symbol of St. Matthew in the Book of Durrow. Others—the slab of Kilaghtee, the large slab of Caher Island, the slab of Fahan—have interlacings made of very large ribbons, often with double contour, like those of the Book of Durrow. All these carvings, which are in very low relief, really engravings on the surface of the stone, have a strong similarity of appearance. Most of them have the large Greek cross in a circle. The homogeneity of the group shows the fallacy of the argument put forward by Mr. Clapham and M. Masai. It is perfectly futile to try to reduce Irish art at that time solely to what bears the " Celtic " or " La Tène " ornament, namely the spiral.

Irish art shows at all periods a great faculty of assimilation, and gives an obvious proof of this faculty during the period under consideration : it uses alternately or jointly elements of varied origin. These carvings, which cannot be suspected, like manuscripts or metal-work, of having been imported, show the true picture of Irish art at this time ; and this picture fits in with the decoration of the Book of Durrow. On the carvings, as in the Book, the various elements are not combined, but juxtaposed and used alternately, as if their variety of origin was still remembered ; and as in the Book, the effect is very simple, very direct, without anything of the intricacy which will be later the mark of illumination, stone-work and metal-work. Everything points to a date for the carvings which would be about the same as that of the Book of Durrow : they belong to a type of monument which is represented in England (at Whithorn) by a pillar with an inscription which mentions St. Peter and dates from the years following immediately the council of Whitby. A similar inscription on the Kilnasaggart pillar in Ireland, which belongs to this group, dates it to the same

period. So we can admit that all this group of slabs belongs to the period 660–700, which is about the period of the Book of Durrow. They certainly form a more suitable background for its decoration than the Northumbrian crosses. In fact, the cross of Carndonagh with its two attendant pillars is probably the one monument anywhere which comes closest to the decoration of the Book of Durrow: ribbon-interlacings, spirals, bell-shaped figures shown in full face with feet in profile, round-headed eagles, all these are common features of the manuscript and the Carndonagh carvings. The animal interlacings are really the only element present in the manuscript and absent in the carvings. But this we will examine later.

VI

The second problem to be considered, when trying to find a proper background for the Book of Durrow, is that of the hanging-bowls. Everybody agrees that one of the carpet-pages of the Book of Durrow, which is decorated with spirals more or less arranged in circles, is an imitation of enamelled discs from hanging-bowls. In fact, this agreement may come from that inertia denounced by M. Masai: some objects of gilded bronze, like the semi-spherical Irish object found at Jaaten, in Norway, would supply a much more satisfying model. But let us accept for the present what M. Masai might call the "traditional theory" on the subject. These bronze bowls with decorated discs have been the subject of much controversy. Before the war the position was this: more than fifty examples, complete or incomplete, had been found in England, mostly in Saxon graves; two (non-enamelled) had been discovered in Scotland, one in Holland, one in Belgium, sixteen in Norway (coming from Viking graves) and two in Sweden. The discs from Norway and that from Holland are of a late type which does not concern us here. The others are of various types. There seems to be an early type which derives from Roman models and whose decoration consists in an arrangement of peltae ornamented with a thin enamelled pattern. Then come discs decorated with spirals, most of them of the "trumpet-pattern" type. Some discs have a few squares of millefiori glass floating in the background of enamel. Some also have animal patterns. Though a great many of the discs have been found in Saxon graves, they are not considered now as of Saxon workmanship. The Saxons did not know the technique of enamelling and never used the type of spiral-pattern found on the discs. So they must be loot when they are found in Saxon graves, as also when they are found in Scandinavia. It is generally assumed that they were plundered from the remaining British churches, where they would have been probably used as lamps.

Who made these hanging-bowls originally? This problem has puzzled many archaeologists, and they have given various solutions. Mr. Kendrick and Mr. Leeds considered them as manufactured by the Celts of Britain, not yet conquered by the Saxons. I proposed an Irish origin. A Scottish

origin has also been suggested. Since the war the problem has changed considerably by the appearance of several new Irish examples. Mr. Raftery in a recent lecture mentioned more than ten which have come to light in these last years, found in various parts of Ireland ; in addition to more or less complete bowls, a bird escutcheon has been found in Clonmacnoise and a disc with spirals in the dredging operations of the Bann. This number is very big if it is remembered that since Ireland was then a Christian country, there is no chance of finding objects in graves and that practically all the finds are due to pure chance. If one adds to that the great similarity between the patterns on the hanging-bowl escutcheons and those of other enamelled objects—penannular brooches, hand-pins and latchets, whose Irish origin is practically beyond doubt—the overwhelming evidence will be in favour of the Irish origin of the hanging-bowls, or at least of those with enamelled escutcheons. These enamelled objects, together with some bronze objects decorated with the same patterns of spirals in relief (Petrie crown, trumpets, discs in Dublin Museum, etc.), would represent the transition between the Irish art of Pagan times based on La Tène motives and the art of the seventh century. These objects and the carvings of the late seventh century would then supply all the necessary background for the Book of Durrow, as there are animal motives similar to those of the Book on some of the escutcheons. The metal objects, which cover a much wider period than the slabs we have examined, would, together with some early decorated pillars, provide a proper background for less elaborate manuscripts than the Book of Durrow, in which only some capitals are decorated with spirals. These manuscripts correspond with a period when the influx of foreign models had not yet made itself felt in Ireland. Mr. Nordenfalk has suggested recently that the Cathach of St. Columba represents such an early phase of Irish illumination ; with the exception of a few animal heads, it is only decorated with spirals.

VII

The very small place occupied by animal motives in these early manuscripts is very striking. The importance of the animal motives in the Book of Durrow has often been exaggerated, generally by scholars who had not seen the book itself and were judging from photographs. In fact they occupy a very minor place in the decoration. The repartition of the patterns in the manuscript is very remarkable : the spirals, sometimes combined with interlacings and zigzag patterns, form the essential element of the ornamented capitals which are an inherent part of the text and represent probably that older tradition of Irish illumination to which we were just alluding. The interlacings, on the other hand, are the essential element of the decoration of the " carpet-pages "—full pages of ornaments —which probably belong to a more developed scheme of illumination. Only two of the carpet-pages have patterns other than interlacings : the

page of spirals arranged in discs and the page of animals. The animals do not appear anywhere in the text, and even in the carpet-pages they appear as an exception and correspond probably to a fleeting curiosity for a foreign motive of decoration. This proportion in the repartition of the pattern is essential when trying to understand the origin of the Book of Durrow. Nearly all the elements of its decoration could be found elsewhere at the same period, but always with a completely different repartition.

Let us examine, for example, the objects found at Sutton Hoo in England, just before the war. M. Masai was not able to include them in his demonstration, as they were published for the first time during the war, and Mr. Bruce-Mitford's remarkable monograph of the find has only come out lately. They are an extraordinarily miscellaneous collection of objects and include, beside Saxon cloisonné jewellery, Byzantine dishes and three enamelled hanging-bowls with spirals and millefiori. The Saxon jeweller used as his staple ornament an animal pattern which is of the same type as that found on one page of the Book of Durrow ; but he uses it constantly, and with a predilection and resourcefulness which show that it is a pattern he is really familiar with. He uses also interlacings similar to those of the Book of Durrow, but much simpler in their arrangement—reduced, in fact, to a system of twists which lags far behind the elaborate circular knots and plaits of the manuscript. The spiral he does not attempt to use, though he had examples of it on the hanging-bowls. This is all the more surprising since he tried, by extraordinarily subtle devices which will bring new light on the subject when Mr. Bruce-Mitford has completed his study of the objects, to imitate the technique of the enamelled bowls, which were obviously foreign to him. Other comparisons would give similar results. There is, for example, a carved altar in the neighbourhood of Carcassonne which belongs roughly to the same period and is decorated with a profusion of ribbon interlacings, associated with a cross with curved ends similar to some of those found on Irish slabs, and two little animal heads of the same type as those of Sutton Hoo. The elements are still the same, but here the interlacing is the principal ornament.

These comparisons show clearly how much the same elements of decoration were the common stock of the artists of the Early Middle Ages in Western Europe. The animal ornament travelled everywhere with the Germanic invasions, and was known in Ireland from constant contacts with Saxon England. The interlacing, whatever its ultimate origin, was introduced mostly by the imitation of Eastern models. What is really characteristic of each art is its own method of combining the ornaments and its dominant use of some patterns. In this, the illuminations of the Book of Durrow appear as belonging to a completely different milieu from the objects of Sutton Hoo on the one hand and the Northumbrian crosses on the other.

M. Masai, in his study of the Book of Durrow, makes much of the

problems raised by its text and paleography. But he does not seem to be aware of the fact, which can be conclusively demonstrated, that the painter belonged to a completely different milieu from the scribe and was so used to the Old Irish version, with its different order of the Gospels, that he put the symbols of the evangelists in the wrong order, giving to Mark the symbol of John and vice versa. So that the characters of the text have very little bearing on the origin of the illuminations.

From these indications it appears that the problem of the Book of Durrow is infinitely more complex than M. Masai seems to suspect. Very far from being based on the colophon, the attribution of the book to Ireland is supported by the internal evidence of the decoration itself. If the Book of Durrow can be accepted as Irish, we have the explanation for which we were seeking of the irrelevant aspect of the Book of Lindisfarne amongst other Northumbrian works.

I shall not follow the problem further. Professor Ó Riordáin has shown conclusively how impossible it is to separate the Irish metal-work and carvings of the eighth century from the " Irish manuscripts." This is the centre of the problem for this second period. In any case a close analysis of M. Masai's method in dealing with the Book of Durrow is enough to expose the shaky quality of his information. Far from settling the question of a Northumbrian origin of the " so-called Irish manuscripts," his argument is at times not far from seriously wrecking, by a demonstration *ab absurdo*, any chances of making the Northumbrian claims convincing.

FRANÇOISE HENRY

PART II: A NOTE ON THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

BY SEÁN P. Ó RIORDÁIN

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"AS Sir Cyril Fox once remarked on hearing that one of us doubted some theory of his : ' God bless the boy, I'm only out for truth'." This sentence, from Mr. T. C. Lethbridge's recent book *Merlin's Island*, reflects a healthy frame of mind and one in which one would hope to approach M. Masai's study of Irish manuscript illumination. However shattering it might be to our national prestige—as the author obviously thinks—we should, if due proof be forthcoming, be willing to accept the theory that books we had considered Irish were not written in Ireland, nor by Irishmen, nor did they even spring from Irish art. Indeed if we try to accept this theory, we must wonder—after tediously following so much argument—why M. Masai has bothered to assign the name

"Anglo-*Irish*" to this art since so little is left to Ireland: only the poor manuscript products of the ninth century. We might also wonder whether on purely archaeological considerations, the argument has gone far enough.

This doubt as to whether the argument has gone far enough arises from the lack of obvious reference (in text or by inclusion in plates) to eighth-century Irish metal-work or even to its outstanding products—such as the Ardagh Chalice and the Tara Brooch. As one reads through the book it becomes more and more obvious that this metalwork must be considered as an integral part of the story. The Irish, M. Masai reasons, not only did not produce the illuminated manuscripts, but, for social and historical reasons, were incapable of high artistic effort. Clearly then the metal-work usually ascribed to the late seventh century or the eighth century must also be denied them.

M. Masai has not failed to do this. He does not bother with such things as the Ardagh Chalice; he becomes in fact more specific in his desire to abolish all Irish art before 800, and makes special mention (p. 86, footnote) of the finds generally accepted as of Irish origin and found in Viking graves in Norway. Ignoring the opinions of Böe, Hencken, Mahr and a host of others, he places the onus of the defence on a simple statement by Mlle. Henry in a book (*La Sculpture Irlandaise*) which was not primarily devoted to this type of material and therefore does not provide detailed argument. M. Masai can see no means of distinguishing between the booty obtained by the Vikings "from one or the other of the British Isles"; further, even if many of the objects were obtained in Ireland, were they manufactured there? In answer to such an argument there is perhaps little use in pointing to finds from Irish soil which provide parallels for those in Viking graves. For instance, the yellow enamel in L-shaped and T-shaped frames is found in the St. Columba's College finial and the Ferns hook; we may also remark on the occurrence of millefiori; we may show the resemblance between the finds at Navan and Gausel. Perhaps M. Masai has not considered these matters; he does not include even Volume I of *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland* (Mahr), published in 1932, in his bibliography. He can therefore hardly be expected to know of recent finds such as the splendid belt from Moylough. But, in any case, he would reply that these things were not made in eighth-century Ireland. Undaunted by the lack of similar contemporary material in Britain, he would continue to think it relevant to point to the Soiscél Molaise (c. 1000) as the first *dated* piece of Irish metalwork because it happens to be inscribed.

Would it be more useful to point to the results of recent excavations? One may mention the Ballinderry brooch, the Cahercommaun brooch with yellow enamel, the numerous other objects from the Ballinderry crannógs or from the fort at Cahercommaun, the large amount of material from Lagore and Carraig Aille. From an earlier date we have the Garranes button (allied in design to the hanging bowl escutcheons), the Ballycatteen

finds and those from Garryduff, where filigree spirals occur as fine as anything we have hitherto known. There are various other single finds from different parts of Ireland. But M. Masai would dispose of all these by denying their Irish manufacture. What then of the evidence for bronze, glass and enamel-working which in some measure almost every excavated site has produced, sometimes in such abundance? Where moulds and clay crucibles for bronze, glass rods for the production of millefiori, trial pieces, unfinished objects, implements and furnaces have been found, there can be no question but that glass and metal-workers were active on these sites. Glass studs similar to those on the Ardagh Chalice and on the Moylough belt were being cast at Lagore; millefiori was being made there and at Garranes; enamel was prepared at Garranes. What, one must ask, were the inhabitants of these sites manufacturing if not the very types that have been found in the excavations?

M. Masai ignores all this evidence. He must do so: not only because he wishes to show the low level of contemporary Irish art, but also because the art of the metal-worker is intimately connected with that of the manuscripts. The ornament which began on metal-work was transferred to parchment (a well known fact which M. Masai presents at length), and the ornament perfected on parchment was again transferred to metal. So we find the spirals and the animals of the Books of Lindisfarne and Kells reproduced on metal-work and reproduced with a fidelity which suggests that the artists who made them were intimately familiar with the work of the illuminators. If the manuscripts were exclusively products of Northumbrian scriptoria and were imported thence into Ireland and if, as we believe must be conceded, the metal-work was made in Ireland, there could not have been such intimate connexions between the motives employed. In fact it seems clear that the artists in the two media—metal and parchment—must have worked side-by-side. In this case we must believe in a diffusion of artistic effect which is at variance with M. Masai's theory (p. 104) that manuscripts were being copied in a restricted area and that the exemplars were kept in a few jealously guarded scriptoria.

The denial of any high artistic quality in eighth century Irish metal-work is merely one symptom of M. Masai's general outlook. Criticizing what he calls "Celtomania" (p. 33 footnote) he points to the influence of Scandinavian ship-building and metallurgy on work in Ireland. With regard to metallurgy, by which presumably is intended metal-working as well as metal-winning, there were of course foreign influences; but in what do they indicate superiority? An increase, though not a beginning, in silver-work; the introduction of some new types and the modification of some others. Hiberno-Viking brooches are pedestrian by comparison with their native predecessors. Surely at that period Ireland was giving rather than receiving in the sphere of art, as Scandinavian archaeologists have themselves insisted. It is indeed a notable fact that Scandinavian

influence made itself strongly felt in Ireland only when the Scandinavian political power was broken—in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Then northern influences were readily accepted, but were embodied in an art which was in its essence native.

The superiority of the Vikings in shipbuilding is more probable, though Mr. Lethbridge has correctly remarked on the fact that the evidence of pagan boat-burials gives an adventitious advantage to the Scandinavians.

This archaeological disadvantage of Christianity, which implies lack of grave-goods, militates against recognition of the Irish contribution, not only at the later period but also in the earlier centuries under consideration. It is but another example of the fallibility of archaeological evidence, caused by the disappearance of certain objects or types and thus resulting in faulty distribution patterns. But such fallible evidence becomes really dangerous when it is used in two contradictory ways. We are given an instance of this by M. Masai. He holds that the Book of Durrow did not come from a succession of forerunners, and that the lay-out of the illuminated pages of the manuscripts was inspired by that of the book-covers. Later book-covers and metal fragments which might have been attached to such book-covers do indeed exist. But M. Masai insists that the illumination of the Book of Durrow derives from such book-covers : these, even on his dating, must therefore be placed before the end of the seventh century. He instances the well-known spiral page in the Book as being modelled on a metal book-cover. Of this early material there is not a vestige. By itself this thesis would not be objectionable, though there are difficulties in it. But we cannot accept a reasoning according to which the manuscripts cannot have existed since, had they existed, they would have survived notwithstanding the Vikings and other destructive agencies ; while at the same time we are asked to believe that the book-covers did exist though they have not survived.

These and other examples in M. Masai's general thesis reflect not a desire for truth but tendentious reasoning. They are only of incidental import to the main argument, but they make one view with distrust a case which is bolstered up in this manner.

Seán P. Ó Riordáin

A FILM POLICY FOR IRELAND*

BY JOHN GRIERSON

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I AM told that Ireland at the present moment is becoming more and more interested in what it should be doing to develop the use of the film for national purposes. Like all small countries, I imagine that it is finding it difficult to face up to the full implications of the use of the film for national purposes. It is an expensive medium ; it requires special technical skills ; and I have no doubt that Ireland is divided too as to whether it will develop the film on a governmental or on a commercial basis. One thing, however, is sure, that it will not be able to avoid coming to a conclusion, any more than other countries whose resources are for one reason or another limited. The remarkable thing to-day is not the growth of the cinema in the large countries, but the growth of the film in countries like Canada, New Zealand (which has a population half that of Ireland), Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Australia and in the countries of Latin America. Even French Quebec in Canada has been developing its own provincial film service, with its own production facilities and equipment and its own personnel. And Nova Scotia too. And Saskatchewan too. In many quarters the organised film services growing up—both production and distribution services—derive from a population even less than that of New Zealand—and certainly less than that of Ireland.

I

There are many reasons—both immediate and indirect—behind this world-wide development. In some cases there is a desire to use the film to help the tourist trade. That was originally the case with Canada, as it is the case with New Zealand and Switzerland. But the remarkable thing is how quickly other national uses are found. In some cases it is a question of making pictures of a country's material resources in order to encourage capital from abroad. In some cases it is a question of using the film to eliminate illiteracy or to teach health and new agricultural methods. But, by and large, the pattern of use grows till the film is being used internally and externally as a full-fledged instrument of national purpose : internally to help the whole educational system of the country, both among children and adults, on the school level, the technical level and on the civic and social levels of interest ; externally, to show a country's face to the world and help it take its proper place in the consciousness of other peoples.

* A lecture delivered, under the auspices of the National Film Institute of Ireland, on 11 May 1948 in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin.

One of the striking developments at Unesco this year has been the growing demand of the countries less privileged in the matter of the cinema for more and more technical equipment; and with this has gone an equal demand for a world scholarship scheme by which the countries which lack the technical skills of the cinema can send their men to countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Canada to learn how to make films and how to use them. These demands come principally from the countries of Eastern Europe, from Latin America and from the countries of the Middle and Far East. It is a demand which is increasing too in the Colonial territories, where there is a growing sense of the fact that the film has a great service to give in the technical and social development of the more backward areas.

One of the major reasons advanced for this demand is one which I imagine is well understood in Ireland. Many countries are worried to-day about the vast power of the film in the hands of one or two great countries. They see their boundaries invaded by images and ideas which are alien to them. They see their people swamped by expressions of a metropolitan culture which has little to do with the facts of their own lives and which, in many cases, they regard as barbaric and perverting. They want to preserve and develop their own cultures. They want also to regard the flow of culture as necessarily a two-way flow in which they will have their own opportunity of expressing themselves to others. Realising this, they feel that it is vital for their cultural defences that, no matter how small they are, they should make something of the cinema within their own borders. It has, in fact, come to be something of a paradox, that the smaller a nation is and the more vulnerable it is, the more it has to brighten and burnish the image of its own self and develop the film for its national purpose.

One had only to attend the recent United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information at Geneva to realise this, as one has only to attend any of the Unesco conferences to realise it. The deep issues there were not, and are not, the issues between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc, between the big interests of the big countries. They are the issues which arise from a real fear on the part of the smaller countries that the big fellows, on both sides, are only too insensitive to the special cultural interests of their smaller neighbours and, in certain cases, are inclined to ignore their quality. Time and again one sees the Far Eastern countries, the Arab countries, the Latin American countries and the smaller European countries mobilising on this single point.

II

I may be permitted, as a Scotsman, to say that I appreciate this viewpoint as well as any Irishman. I know that a Scotsman has been described as only an uninspired Irishman, and I know certainly that we have not

been inspired enough to secure our political freedom to anything like the extent of Ireland. But, nevertheless, our problems as small nations in close proximity to a larger and richer nation have been in many ways similar. A great part of the struggle has been : not to maintain economic independence, but to preserve what we had of our own traditions, our own culture, our own way of looking at things. We had a native feeling that we had excellencies to present to the common pool of excellencies everywhere. Preserving them, we developed them, and I doubt if any two small countries in the world can look back to-day on a greater contribution to the world's heritage. Both countries have contributed richly to the colonisation of the world and to the development of new nations. Ireland has been especially rich in its gift of song, poetry and drama, in its gift of political action and political management, and in its gift of humour, just as Scotland has been rich in its gift of explorers and engineers and economic management and industrial innovation.

It is this sort of argument which is going through the minds of all the small nations to-day, and it is impressing them all the more as the great forces of international expression—and international intrusion too—strike them on every front : political, economic, educational, social and cultural. Even the forces of international organisation, represented by the United Nations and its instruments, are calling for the closest examination. On the one hand, they may be the means of glossing over the rich differences between peoples and cultures which are the root and substance of culture itself. On the other hand, they may be the means of giving voice to these differences and so of securing their appreciation. Unesco is the especial battle-ground of this issue to-day. In my own view, it will be dead by the dykeside if it becomes the instrument of one large nation or of a group of large nations, and forgets the clause in its charter which charges it to preserve the rich diversity of culture throughout the world. That inevitably calls for it to be an instrument of all nations—large and small—in the equal expression of what they have to say and what they have to give.

I emphasise this Unesco relationship because when you think of developing the film or any other instrument of cultural expression, you have also to think, in this modern and complicated world, of where your allies across this world are going to lie. Unesco can, and should be, a powerful ally to the small country developing its film services. It is one mechanism which can give an international cachet to the films you make and impress them on other countries. Unesco is working this year on a series of films in which different countries will say what they have best done in painting and theatre, medicine and education, in social development, and so on. If New Zealand has achieved the greatest things in prenatal care, it is Unesco's idea that all nations should know this and that New Zealand should become the model for all nations to follow. The

same possibility is open to all countries which have special excellencies to present; and of course all nations have something or another which is unique. Ireland should take some account of this scheme and see to it that it is given its own proper part to play in this new world of films, in which it is not the rich and the powerful and the noisy who control the ideas but the peoples with a genuine contribution of international validity to offer.

Then again, Ireland, as it develops its films, should seek to associate its work more and more closely with the film work of those nations which for one reason or another—political, economic, religious or cultural—have the same sort of problems to face in their film development. Ireland is concerned with technical education at various levels; it is concerned with the preservation of its religion; it is especially interested in the preservation of family and rural life; it is interested too in co-operative and highly specialised aspects of agricultural production and organisation. So are many other countries; and therefore, in each category of its own interest, Ireland is not isolated, but belongs to an internationale. It belongs to the great and powerful internationale of the Catholic Church; it belongs to the green internationale of rural countries developing progressive rural cultures; it has common interests on a dozen and one fronts. All this should be considered as Ireland makes its film plans. It means power to exchange films; it means power to produce films co-operatively with other nations; it means power to create, from the films of small nations with similar interests, a common film front to the larger world. Nor in all this should it forget that other internationale of its own making: the internationale of Irishmen and of their descendants throughout the world. There is probably no internationale of any kind throughout the world more loyal. It means that whatever Ireland does about its songs, its poetry, its drama and its people, it has a great and willing audience waiting for it.

III

Here I think we had better come down to the particulars of what the film can do in the national service; and I propose to divide the functions of the film in this way. First: it can give other people a proper sight of Ireland; second: it can give the Irish people a proper sight of themselves; third: it can become a positive instrument of self-examination; fourthly: it can become a positive instrument for the co-ordination of the national effort and a directive instrument of educational and cultural leadership.

I have already mentioned tourist films as one of the first uses of the film to give other people a proper sight of a country, but the most interesting thing about tourist films is that they soon pass beyond the tourist level *per se* and reach into descriptions of any and every aspect of the national life which will attract the interest of others. The very largest

example of this more thorough approach is the British one. It makes its films of the country and the national life in thirty odd languages. It has film libraries everywhere across the world ; and even in the United States it has one of the largest non-theatrical circulations in the country. And it is not just the films of the pretty places of the country—of the British Council type—that it seeks to show. It seeks to penetrate on every level of specialised interest from the learned societies to the stamp collectors. That is to say, it conceives the general public of any country as easily divisible into a large number of specialised publics. There will be a public interested in what Britain is doing in science, another in engineering, another in housing and public health, another in child welfare and education, another in the arts and so on almost *ad infinitum*. This specialised approach to giving other people a good sight of yourself has been the special characteristic of British film distribution, as a national service, and it has much to teach other countries large and small.

When this specialised approach is carried out in its fullest implications, it involves an enormous and expensive work which is not for the exchequers of small countries. On the other hand, there are two important points even for small nations. The first is that you do not necessarily have to divide the films you make into films for home and films for abroad. In fact, the films you make for yourselves—if they are made well, if they contribute to exposition and instruction in any single field of interest which you share with others—become thereby valuable in international exhibition. It therefore behoves you to begin by examining most carefully what you have to do in public health, in agriculture, in education, in cultural development and technical development, which will not only teach in your own country, but help to teach in others.

The second point is that in concentrating on specialised production and specialised distribution, you tend to economise by concentrating on what is most functionally important for you. That is important where your funds are limited. In Canada we were especially interested in this. There we were alongside the great resources of the United States. We knew we could not compete in the size and scale of our operation ; so we decided to be selective, to use our wits, and to concentrate on the sort of things that America was missing. Everyone was making films of the tourist kind—about holiday camps—about the usual fishing tours—about the usual scenery. We took our tourist films into the description of the arts and crafts. We took them into coloured description of what Canadian painters were doing to bring the country alive. We made films of the folk songs of Canada. We initiated a thorough series of sound records and film records of what the various races in Canada had contributed to the music and the manners of the country. We went on to make films of our musical festivals and musical achievements. Serving our own national culture, we found ourselves striking a new note in international circulation.

I come now to the great value of the film in helping toward a self-examination of one's own country. Everybody thinks he knows his own country ; yet in England, only twenty years ago, when the documentary film began to be developed, it was a simple fact that the workmen of the country had never been seen on the public screens. They were, in fact, regarded as not fit for the public screens. Industry itself, the basis of the country's economy, was regarded as inevitably boring. The country did not know the spectacle of its steel works, the achievements of its science, the progressive feats of its agriculture. It did not have even a sight of its own great skills in craftsmanship. Whatever the documentary film has done for England, it has changed all that. To-day England knows itself, and the Englishman knows his neighbour and his work as never before ; and it may be that the great sense of cohesion and discipline which England was able to achieve during the war was in part a result of this new-found knowledge of itself.

And it is not just this general sense of one's own country that the film gives you. In the very process of making films about agricultural problems, health problems, road safety problems and the like, you progressively work out, for all to see, the actual and active patterns of your citizenship. And you tend more and more to work them out in a dynamic and dramatic pattern. One reason for this is the nature of the medium itself. Just because it is an active medium, a visual medium and a physical medium, it abhors question marks and leaving a subject in the air. You have inevitably to come to a conclusion, and a positive one, or the audience will soon demand it of you. This, I may say, represents a very healthy influence on indecisive ministers, who have inevitably to make up their minds what it is they have to say to the people, what in fact is the account of their stewardship, and what in fact they have to propose in positive advice. The main thing, however, is that it is good for the educational and cultural well-being of the public mind. Your film programme properly conceived and organised sees the problems of the country as positive problems, with a definite habitation and a place and in a definite pattern of facts moving towards a resolution. In sum it sees the country as on the move and going somewhere.

This, in my belief, is a precious achievement in itself : particularly in a world which is becoming ever more technological and therefore ever more complex and difficult to take hold of. The film becomes a most valuable aid not only in maintaining the morale of a country but also in securing that higher measure of understanding and co-operation which no modern country can do without.

I shall sum up all this by saying that in the capacity of the film to discover a country both to itself and others, in its capacity to set out the active patterns of a country on economic, social and cultural levels, in its capacity to secure the co-operation of a people in terms of active learning

and active citizenship, the film becomes a positive and necessary instrument of leadership in any modern nation. It is the more necessary as nations find themselves affected by new technologies of progress, by new standards of economic and social security, and by new international relations and responsibilities. There comes a point where the film ceases, so to speak, to be a film and becomes a necessary instrument of national enlightenment.

IV

With this, I come to the really dangerous part of my discussion and that is to say what the plan of action for Ireland should be in this matter of developing the film in the national service. It is dangerous, because I cannot pretend to know anything about the special conditions of the Irish scene. I can only proceed from analogy.

One or two facts do stand out. Ireland is well behind in this matter and, indeed, is behind countries smaller than itself. It has, it seems, talked a good deal about this possibility and that; and it seems too that it has been greatly divided, with some arguing from the arty side and some from the practical side, with some dividing on " progressive " lines and some on " conservative " lines—and with the simple glaring fact in the background, it seems, that Ireland does not have a studio, and does not have a sound-recording centre, and does not have even a laboratory for the processing of films. I emphasise this because it would appear to me common sense to begin the discussions, and even the divisions, only after one has something concrete to argue about and divide over.

Against this backwardness in comparison with other nations and other national film services, it is important to set the fact that Ireland is a young nation which has just, so to speak, set up shop—and in a very special way of its own. It has declared to itself and the world—that it is going to be itself, and maintain itself, and develop itself in its own identity—that it has a culture to preserve and foster—that it has a language of its own to revive and even more greatly vitalise—that it has games of its own played on a nation-wide scale. Not only that, but in this process of nation-declaring and nation-making it has appeared to the world especially conscious of its religion and of the part it has to play in relation to it, and especially conscious too of the preservation of family life and rural life. And, as a consequence of its economy and its independence, it has given itself special duties in self-reliance : with large and special problems in the development of its agriculture and its industries, large and special problems in the development of its health and housing and community amenities, both industrial and rural. This is what appears to someone on the outside. It appears, in fact, that Ireland is a country of great ambitions in many directions, just as it appears that it is a country with great creative talents. And the failure to join these forces together in this matter of films seems the more disappointing.

This failure I am sure can be explained. It is certainly difficult, at first sight, to see what a small country like Ireland can do of itself in the making of big studio films; and the films I have been talking of—the educational films, the public health and civic films, the cultural films—can and will only develop where positive governmental plans exist and where positive community organisation co-operates for their showing and for their discussion. This too is a complex and difficult business requiring much specialised knowledge, both on the production side and the distribution side; and it is not at all a case for amateurs, but of professional training, not only in Ireland but in every other country which has something to teach Ireland regarding its special problems.

The plan I suggest is something of this order. First. Get a proper survey made of what is practically required, both by Government Departments and by industrial and commercial public relations services; not only that, but a survey of what is practically possible within Ireland's financial limitations; and it should be a survey which sets out with precision what can be mobilised from other countries for Ireland's use; and it should be conscious of the particular problems which undoubtedly exist in the organisation of a national service in rural areas, and of the fact that possibly Ireland starts with communities which are not, let us say, health conscious and will have to be approached with understanding.

I think it particularly important that Ireland begin in an effort to combine the Government's interest in films with the film interests of the Irish industries. In England some of the best health films have come out of the Gas Association and Imperial Chemicals; and some of the best agricultural teaching films have come out of the Oil Companies. When finance is limited, it would appear to be all the more necessary to make the native industries partners from the beginning in the national service—and not only the industries but the trade unions and co-operatives too, just as they were made national partners by the Film Board of Canada.

As I see it, the Government, when the whole matter is surveyed and planned, might find it possible to set up a central technical establishment in the form of a General Services Unit, with laboratory service, sound-recording service and at least a small studio service, available on hire to government operatives and commercial operatives alike. It might reasonably think of spending, shall we say, £30,000 on creating the unit. As for yearly expenditures I think it possible that government departments, and particularly the departments of Health, Agriculture, Education and Labour, would find it worth their while to spend £50,000 per annum: looking to the Irish industries and the commercial interests in agriculture, textiles, fisheries, forestry, motor manufacture, fuel, electricity, sugar and, last but not least, liquor, to put up together, in production and distribution services, a further £50,000.

Even within those figures of £30,000 in capital expenditure and

£100,000 a year in production and distribution services one could, with good and clear planning, establish a very considerable service for the country. With the system established, one would moreover be able to use successfully many supplementary films and film services from overseas.

One of the special problems Ireland has to face, of course, is the building up of efficient technical personnel on all levels from the laboratory to the use of the finished films in the community. Many specialised knowledges are required. Here it is a question both of sending one's people abroad to be trained and of bringing experts in from other countries to help in the early stages. Neither problem is so great as it sounds. It is pretty certain, for example, that organisations like the National Film Board of Canada and the Central Office of Information in England would be glad to accommodate a number of trainees; and they have, in fact, done a good deal of that already for other countries than Ireland.

Thirdly, Ireland will have to consult how best it can secure the co-operation of the film industry in its work. The film industry has changed greatly in its policies in the past twenty years. I myself have secured great co-operation from it in the past, both in England and in Canada, and I expect to continue to do so. Ireland, on its side, must expect to make some use of its own screens for the national purpose. The film industry, on its side—particularly in respect of an industry trading from abroad—must expect and be ready to give a *quid pro quo* for the trading privilege it enjoys. In actual negotiation there will turn out to be many opinions, and some of them short-sighted ones, but the certain upshot of it will be a spirit and plan of co-operation. As a small country with its screens swamped by films from the outside, Ireland cannot expect less.

In other words, let Ireland get its survey, get its central technical services unit, mobilise its government department interests, and particularly in Health, Agriculture, Education and Labour, combine its government film forces with the film interests of Irish industry and commerce, plan together with the film industry for the use, in part, of its own national screens, get its people trained in the many specialised fields of knowledge involved, and build specific educational and cultural services out into the communities and in co-operation with the various community services. And if the poets and the artists ask: where is the guarantee of poetry or of art? I say that there was never a guarantee of poetry or art without a living and working opportunity for the poet and the artist.

It is by making these national film services actual and gearing them to practical functional roots in the national service that I think we stand the best chance of giving life to them. This approach has succeeded in other countries. I believe it is the best one—in fact, I believe it is the only one—for Ireland to-day.

JOHN GRIERSON

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XX.—RAILS

Rails are small or medium-sized birds, more or less laterally compressed and adapted for moving through dense vegetation. They are principally swamp or water birds and generally of secretive habits. Their wings are short and rounded, their tails short and their toes long. Eight species have been found in Ireland.

THE CORN-CRAKE OR LAND-RAIL.—Ireland has long been known as a favourite resort of the Corn-Crake. I believe that Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Topographia Hibernica*, de avibus, meant the Corn-Crake to be one of three species which he mentions as particularly numerous. His words are : " Item coturnices hic plurimi. Ratulae vero raucae et clamosae infinitae. Diemque laudantes alaudae innumerae." Now there is no difficulty about the first and third species—Quails and Sky-larks—but *ratulae*, being a word used only this once (hapax legomenon) in medieval Latin, long continued to puzzle lexicographers and commentators. Du Cange in *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* suggests a variant reading, " sed videtur legendum ranulae ", i.e. frogs—quite obviously a poor guess when the author is dealing expressly with birds. Ussher and Warren (1900) interpret *ratulae* as Water-Rails. But in Baxter and Johnson's *Medieval Latin—Word-List* (1934) the meaning is given as : " (probably) Land-Rail or Corn-Crake". I consider this almost certainly the correct interpretation. The adjectives " raucae " and " clamosae " seem to me more properly descriptive of the hoarse and incessant calls of the Corn-Crake than of the fearsome cries of the Water-Rail. Besides " infinitae ", of countless numbers, would be an extraordinary predicate of the Water-Rail which seeks out remote and secluded swamps for its habitat, whereas it would be quite understandable of the Corn-Crake, which prefers cultivated and grass land, and would consequently in the XII century, as it does today, more readily come under the notice of man. English writers of the XVI and XVII centuries, while telling of the scarcity of the Corn-Crake in the greater part of England, speak of its abundance in this country. In 1678 Ray wrote that it was " very common in Ireland, but rare with us". In the XVIII century when the Corn-Crake extended its breeding range south in England, it was still very local and much less plentiful than here. During the present century there has been a slow, but steady, decrease of the Corn-Crake on the continent and in England. In this country it is still common, but for more than twenty years a decline in numbers has been noticed everywhere

except in some parts of the west. There seems to be little doubt that the chief causes of the decrease in numbers have been the introduction of mowing machines and the earlier harvesting of hay. Formerly when scythes were used, the young Corn-Crakes had time to escape unharmed. Then since it was discovered that the nutritive value of hay becomes less the longer it is left standing, the tendency is to mow earlier, and the nests, which are mostly in meadow land, are destroyed before the eggs have hatched out. This is especially the case where the grass is cut for ensilage. Hence it is considered likely that in fifty years or less, according to the present trends, the Corn-Crake will become a very rare, if not an extinct, species.

The Corn-Crake generally arrives in the second half of April, often later in the west. I have in many years heard it about the middle of April. The greater number leave in September and early October, though occasionally wintering birds have been obtained from November to February inclusive. Ussher and Warren remark that " there is nothing to show that any remain until March". But on the evening of March 10th 1944, during a walk by the River Suir near Clonmel, Senator P. J. O'Reilly and I heard a considerable commotion among the wild birds in a marshy field, as if some prowling animal or predatory bird were abroad. As darkness had now fallen and we could not see the cause of the disturbance, we stopped to listen. Snipe rose with their harsh " scaap, scaap ", Lapwings screamed petulantly, Water-hens cackled and, to our surprise, a Land-Rail craked loudly and clearly for a few seconds. We had no doubt about the identity of the call, though we realized that the date was unusual. If this were a wintering bird, it should according to all precedents have remained silent, unless we assume that it called under the stimulus of the general excitement prevailing in the field. If on the other hand it was a spring arrival, it was exceptionally early, for the earliest record I can find was March 28th, on which date in the year 1884 a Corn-Crake was captured at the Tuskar Rock Lighthouse.

The general appearance of the Corn-Crake suggests a game-bird. It has a rather small, tapering body, yellowish-buff above and paler below, with chestnut wings, very noticeable in flight, and with broad reddish-brown bars on the flanks. It is very secretive, keeping well under the cover of grass and moving with its head low, except when it raises its bill to call. Hence few of the many who hear its rasping voice have ever seen the bird. And its voice is so loud and carries so far that the bird is thought to be much bigger than it really is. Again there is a wide-spread notion in this country that the Corn-Crake cannot fly, or that at most it can just manage, when put to it, to fly low, with dangling legs and laboured wing-beats, from one field to the next. But it can, and does, fly fast and high and for long distances. It has been met with in Greenland, Eastern Canada, Bermuda, Australia and New Zealand.

It is a strong migrant to Arabia, but it migrates mainly to tropical and southern Africa, to Cape Colony and Madagascar. In late autumn or the beginning of winter Corn-Crakes have been regularly seen crossing the Mediterranean from Europe, generally in small parties in company with Quail. On landing in Egypt they separate from the Quail and probably traverse Africa in separate parties. None winter in Egypt and their familiar call of the breeding season is never heard there during passage. In the spring migration northwards they again cross the Mediterranean from Egypt in company with Quail. One young bird ringed in Ireland in July was found in Sussex a month later, and another also ringed here in July was recovered in France in September of the same year. A migrant ringed on Skokholm, Pembrokeshire, in April was found in Tipperary in June of the same year.

The unmusical disyllabic " crake-crake ", repeated so persistently by day and night, is the so-called song of the male bird to warn off all other males from the territory in which he has staked his claim. This call can be very accurately reproduced by mechanical means. We use a serrated bone across which another piece of bone is drawn twice in quick succession before a short pause. In the early season it is a very effective method of drawing a Corn-Crake into the open. On one of the first occasions on which Mr. P. E. Dunn and I used it, we had heard a Corn-Crake two or three fields away from the road on which we were. At first the bird answered in the distance, while we reproduced the notes during its periods of silence. The responses gradually came nearer, until finally we saw the bird flying low over the meadow in a straight line for us. It landed on bare ground only a few yards away and " craked " long and loudly. It grew very excited, running to and fro, came out on the road and still " craking " crossed into the field on the other side—in quest, no doubt, of an intruder bird. This method of attracting Corn-Crakes has been very successfully used by Captain A. G. Mason to capture them for ringing and to study their behaviour, especially their reactions to a stuffed bird. As the season advances they become less responsive to the call ; and though birds have been frequently heard in August, they are usually less vocal when the eggs have been laid, with some recrudescence after they hatch. There are various less known notes used in the spring display and in alarm when the young are in danger. On July 21st 1941 two machines were working in a large field and had almost finished the mowing when I came to see the Corn-Crakes escaping. One bird was craking almost continually, and then during a lull in the machinery there was a loud and eerie call which was very like the croak and whistle of a roding Woodcock. A machine man said that he had often before heard these notes and that they were of a young bird in distress, but I am quite sure they were produced by one of the parents either in alarm or as a warning to the chicks.

The nest is usually well concealed in long grass, and the eggs, from eight to twelve in number, are generally laid on consecutive days. On May 20th 1909 I found a newly made nest which thereafter I inspected every day until the clutch was complete. On May 21st there was one egg and on May 29th there were ten. On two days, May 24th and 26th, I found that two eggs had been laid since the previous day. On June 12th the bird was still hatching, but on the following day the young had hatched out and had left the nest. Ussher and Warren mention the case of a Corn-Crake flying at a dog to defend its young. In July 1944 Major Walter Nolan of Carnavilla, Cahir, witnessed a similar incident. He was cutting a meadow with a tractor when he disturbed a Corn-Crake and her family. The parent flew off in front calling the young; but when a dog ran after the young, she turned back and repeatedly striking with wings and feet diverted the dog's attention and succeeded in leading off her brood to safety.

THE SPOTTED CRAKE.—The Spotted Crake is a rare visitor, chiefly in autumn. Formerly it was more numerous and apparently nested commonly in Roscommon. But the only known eggs obtained in this country were taken about 1851 in that county and were presented to the National Museum by Col. H. Irwin. This species has been recorded from all the provinces, most frequently from Munster, and it is thought to have bred in Kerry, as a young bird taken in that county in August showed some down in its plumage. The most recent occurrence to my knowledge was in the Burrin district, Co. Clare, at the end of September 1946. The specimen, which I examined in the flesh, was received at the National Museum on October 1st and the skin has been preserved.

The Spotted Crake frequents swamps with ample cover of reeds and sedge, but on migration it may be met with in fairly open marshy ground. It is very skulking in its habits and gives the observer few chances of watching it. Even with the aid of a dog it is difficult to flush from quaking ground where walking is dangerous. It is not gregarious, but on migration a few may be found feeding together. It is much smaller than the Corn-Crake and can be distinguished from the other Crakes by its spotted olive-brown plumage and brown barred flanks. Its bill is greenish-yellow, red at the base, and its legs are olive-green. The note of the male, heard as a rule in the evening, at night or in the early morning, is described as a sharp "trick-track, trick-track".

This Crake breeds in many parts of Europe, in North Africa and in western Asia. The northern birds migrate south and winter in Africa and India. The nest is in swamps, bogs and marshes.

THE CAROLINA CRAKE.—The Carolina Crake is a North American bird, known in its native land as the Sora Rail. It breeds from the Gulf

of St. Laurence west to British Columbia and south to New Jersey and California, and it winters south to Venezuela and Peru. It is only an accidental visitor to these islands. On April 11th 1920 an adult male was killed striking the lantern of the lighthouse at Slyne Head, Co. Galway. An immature bird was captured a few months previously at sea, about 100 miles off the west coast of Ireland.

The Carolina is very like the Spotted Crake, but is a little smaller. It can be distinguished by its black forehead and chin and by the black stripe down the centre of its throat. The upper-parts are streaked rather than spotted with white, the cheeks, neck and breast are blue-grey and unspotted, and the flanks are barred black and white. The bill is yellow or yellowish-green without the reddish base. The female is less black on the face and throat than the male, and juveniles have the throat white.

THE LITTLE CRAKE.—Only two examples of the Little Crake have been taken in Ireland. A male was shot on March 11th 1854 at Balbriggan, Co. Dublin ; the second was obtained on November 12th 1903 in Offaly. Both specimens are in the National Museum, Dublin.

The adult male has the upper-parts olive-brown with dark streaks and a few white dashes on the back. The under-parts are slate-blue with only the under tail-coverts barred. The female has a white throat and buff under-parts. The young bird is like the female, but shows indistinct barring of brown on the flanks.

The Little Crake breeds in southern Europe, south-western Asia and northern Africa. It winters in the Mediterranean region, north-eastern Africa south to Sudan and Uganda, and in Arabia and Mesopotamia.

BAILLON'S CRAKE.—This species also has been obtained twice. The first was killed near Youghal on October 30th 1845. The second was found on Tramore Bay, Co. Waterford on April 6th 1858 and was presented to the National Museum by Dr. Burkitt. A third example is said to have been caught at the Maidens Lighthouse, Co. Antrim, on May 30th 1936. This bird was fed on barley for four days and then sent ashore.

Baillon's Crake is smaller than the Little Crake, from which it can be distinguished by its flanks and under tail-coverts, which are barred black and white, by white streaks on its brown back and wing-coverts and by the white outer web of the first primary. The under-parts are slate-blue, as in the Little Crake. The female is like the male, but she has more white on the throat, and the juvenile has the lower throat and breast buffish-white.

It is a central and southern European species which is also found in North Africa and Asia Minor. The European birds cross the Mediterranean to winter, probably in Africa.

THE WATER-RAIL.—The Water-Rail is resident and, though more common than is usually supposed owing to its secretive habits and the nature of its haunts, it is local in its distribution. It selects bogs and the swampy borders of lakes and rivers for its breeding ground, and in addition it is sometimes found during winter in over-grown dykes and ditches. There is a well-marked autumn immigration occurring more or less on all parts of the Irish coast, as shown by the frequency of the records from Light-Stations. Barrington suggests that those birds of the species which strike on the north and west coasts come from Iceland.

The Water-Rail is smaller than the Waterhen with a longer bill. It can be distinguished by its olive-brown upper-parts streaked with black, its slate-grey breast, throat and sides of neck, and by its flanks which are barred black and white. The bill is red, blackish towards the tip, and the legs are brownish flesh-colour. The sexes are alike, but immature birds are buff mottled with brown below, with the chin and throat buffish-white. The nestling is covered with silky black down and has a white bill and pale legs and feet. My first introduction to the species was many years ago, when in a reedy bay of Lough Derg I found a few recently hatched young near a nest. I had at that time been acquainted with the young of the Waterhen, which have pink, yellow-tipped bills and a pink frontal shield, and with the young of the Coot, which have crimson bills, tipped black and white, and a flesh-coloured frontal shield. But these nestlings had completely white bills, without any frontal shields. The late Mr. W. J. Williams, to whom I used to apply in all my early difficulties, told me that they were the young of the Water-Rail.

The Water-Rail is very skulking in its habits and is consequently more often heard than seen. It hides very effectively in thick vegetation and is very expert at slipping through stiff, closely set reeds which hold up a sportsman's dog. It is difficult to put up, but if taken by surprise, it flies heavily with legs dangling only to disappear into the nearest available cover. But it can fly far and fast, as proved by the frequency with which it dashes itself to death against the glass of Lighthouses, often a long distance from the nearest land. Its weird cries, heard in spring and summer, and known in Norfolk as "sharming", are very distinctive and are the most frequent proof of the presence of the species lurking in dense reed-beds. These cries have many variations, but a common one begins as a low groaning sound and, gaining speed and intensity, rises to a regular scream. I have heard this cry only by day, when it is startling enough; but it is often repeated during the night, when the loud explosive yell, as of an animal in mortal agony, is weird and alarming.

The nest, almost invariably in a very wet and treacherous situation, is made of flags, reeds and sedges, supported on a platform of bent and broken stems above the water level, and is often concealed from above by growing reeds. The eggs, usually from six to eleven in number, are

of a creamy-white ground colour, sparsely spotted reddish-brown and bluish-ash chiefly near the larger end.

THE WATERHEN OR MOORHEN.—In Ireland this species is generally called the Waterhen, which is much more appropriate than the misleading title of Moorhen. The late Mr. C. B. Moffat was emphatic that we should adhere to this name, even if " Moorhen " is really a corruption of " Merehen ". The bird frequents any water large or small, be it a lake, river, canal or pond, where there is a moderate amount of cover. It is not common on moorland or mountainous areas, though it is not completely absent from such places. Elsewhere it is wide-spread and numerous, breeding in every county and on many of the marine islands. It is largely resident and sedentary, though subject in some areas to local movements. But a few lighthouse records from the south and south-east coast in autumn and spring, together with an adult ringed in Stirlingshire in September and recovered in Co. Tyrone in the following November, suggest a migration on a small scale.

The Waterhen is generally well known and can be easily identified by its blackish-brown upper-parts and dark slate under-parts with oblique white streaks on the flanks. The most distinctive feature is the bright red frontal shield above the red-based, yellow-tipped bill. The white under tail-coverts are also conspicuous both on land and on water owing to the bird's habit of flirting its tail. The legs and feet are green, yellowish in front and with an orange-red ring like a garter.

Though suspicious enough of human beings, the Waterhen is less secretive than rails and crakes generally are. It freely swims about on open water, but usually keeps within easy reach of cover, while it habitually feeds on grasslands and lawns. If disturbed on land, it will run or fly to the water or to cover. Its long toes enable it to walk on lily-pads and floating weeds when it feeds on aquatic plants. But it is very catholic in its range of other food, seeking grain and weed seeds in the fields, wild berries in hedgerows and even fruit in gardens. It dives occasionally if disturbed, and I have seen newly hatched young slip over the edge of the nest and submerge. Rival males fight like game-cocks, striking with both feet, even when on the water. It is especially pugnacious and jealously territorial in the nesting season.

The nest, usually on the water or near the water's edge, often in over-hanging bushes and sometimes in a tree some distance from the water, is made of dead reeds, flags, sedge and other aquatic plants. The eggs are generally from five to eleven, but larger numbers, probably due to two or more hens laying in the same nest, have been recorded. In May 1935 by a lake in Leix I found two nests with 15 and 18 eggs respectively. The latter nest, which I kept under daily observation, was remarkable for the uneven hatching of the eggs. On May 14th two young hatched

out ; on May 15th there was no change and 16 eggs still remained unhatched ; on May 16th six young emerged, leaving 10 eggs still unchipped ; on May 17th and 18th there was no further hatching, but on May 19th on my morning visit one young had just emerged, and by evening all but one egg had hatched. On the morning of May 20th the last egg had disappeared, but I could not say whether it had hatched out or had been taken by some predatory bird or animal.

The Coot.—The Coot is resident and common, but much more local than the Waterhen and requiring larger waters for breeding. In contrast to the Waterhen which nests on quite small ponds, it seldom breeds on water of less than an acre in extent. In winter it is gregarious, and large flocks resort to reservoirs, flooded areas and certain land-locked arms of the sea, while in hard weather they are often found on estuaries and on the sea close to the shore. These winter flocks are probably reinforced by immigrants from Great Britain and the continent. Some specimens, all killed by striking the lanterns, have been reported from Irish Light-stations in autumn. A few observations suggest a movement from the west coast of Great Britain to Ireland, but the only direct evidence of migration from abroad is a Coot ringed as an adult in Denmark on June 16th 1929 and shot in Co. Monaghan on November 19th 1931.

The Coot is a heavily built bird, larger than the Waterhen, with a white bill and a white frontal shield. It is on account of this white unfeathered patch on the forehead that the bird is generally called the Bald Coot. In flight it shows a narrow whitish stripe on the wing. Young birds are brownish-grey with a whitish throat and breast. The legs and feet are greenish, and the toes are furnished with lobes which fold and offer little resistance to the water when the feet are brought forward, but which open out in the back stroke.

The Coot is less at home on land than the Waterhen, but it feeds fairly often on grassy shores not far from the water. It is habitually seen on open water away from cover. It dives freely, usually with a splash, for water plants which it brings to the surface to eat. It is rather pugnacious in spring and will swim with head and neck low, shoulders hunched and wings slightly raised, threatening a rival. In the fight which they carry on with many a shrill cry and much splashing, combatants use their feet and wings for striking.

The nest is usually among reeds or other aquatic growth on the margin of lakes and large pools, but often where there is no cover, either built up in shallow water or placed on some object which rises above the water. In such cases the nest is quite conspicuous and the white shield of the sitting bird can be seen from afar. The nest is a bulky construction of dead reeds and flags. The eggs, from six to nine and sometimes more in number, are stone-coloured with fine spots and speckles of dark brown.

P. G. Kennedy

JOHN O'DONOVAN AND "THE ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS"

BY SENATOR HELENA CONCANNON, M.A., D.LITT.

LOOKING back, as recent Centenary Celebrations invite us to do, over the hundred years which separate us from 1848, that year seems to us, in its tragedies and frustrations, one of the most gloomy and despairing in Irish history. To mention "Forty-Eight" conjures up the vision of an Ireland scourged by famine and fever and landlordism; its cities and towns thronged with ragged hordes of the "Dispossessed"; its countrysides desolate with roofless farmsteads and drained by the emigrant ships; John Mitchel, a convicted "felon" in the hulks of the *Dromedary* on his way to Van Diemen's Land; William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, Patrick O'Donoghue, Terence Bellew McManus standing in the dock at Clonmel to hear themselves sentenced to be "hanged, drawn and quartered"; Duffy in prison; Thomas D'Arcy McGee in exile. How strange to think that from a year so heavy for Ireland with failure and sorrow should date one of the most important events in her cultural history: the publication of the first part of John O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

The epoch-making importance of O'Donovan's work has been well evaluated by the late Father Paul Walsh in an address broadcast from Radio Eireann in 1940. "It is no mistake to say," he told us, "that had O'Donovan not edited *The Four Masters*, neither Hennessy nor MacCarthy could have edited the *Annals of Ulster*; Todd could not have edited *The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*; and Hennessy could not have edited the *Annals of Loch Cé* and *Chronicon Scottorum*. Others who have touched this class of literature . . have been satisfied to be transcribers, not commentators. Looked at in this light, O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* is the fount and origin from which most of our subsequent commentaries have been derived."

In March, 1831, Dr. George Petrie procured, for the Royal Irish Academy an autograph copy, made for Fergal O'Gara, of the portion of the *Annals* which covers the years from 1172 to 1616. The purchase was made at the sale of the books of Mr. Austin Cooper (to whom it had come from Colonel William Burton Conyngham), and there is evidence to show that it had previously been in the possession of the celebrated Charles O'Conor of Belanagare. Charles O'Conor himself states that he had got the MS. from a member of the O'Gara family, his kinsfolk, as early as 1734, through the interest with Archbishop O'Gara, of O'Conor's uncle, Bishop O'Rourke. It was in bad shape when it reached him, and his first care was to entrust it to the ministrations of his friend, Dr. Fergus, "who gave it vigour enough to outlive another century." At that time there was

in Ireland no autograph of the earlier part of the *Annals*. Of the two known to exist one was in the Franciscan Convent of St. Isidore's Rome; the other was in the library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe. The former was subsequently transferred to the Franciscan Library at Merchants' Quay, Dublin; the second was among the Stowe MSS. procured for the Royal Irish Academy by Sir Samuel Ferguson.

Ever since the acquisition for the Academy by Dr. Petrie of the O'Conor MS., there had been talk among the Academicians about the publication of the *Annals*. But nothing came of it; though in 1839, stimulated by the interest of the Lord Lieutenant, tentative proposals seem to have been made to O'Donovan. In one of his breezy letters to James Hardiman, John mentions it, "The R.I.A. have, it seems, come to the resolution of publishing the *Annals of the Four Masters* from beginning to end, at the suggestion of the Lord Lieutenant. This is good news for me, if they do not attempt to make a cat's paw of me; but that they will hardly succeed in doing, so long as I have what will keep me from starving. I defy them to get anyone else who knows all the topography and is acquainted with all the fairies and banshees of Ireland." But the Academy had niggardly ideas about payment, and nothing was done until the publisher, George Smith, decided to go ahead with the publication at his own expense. Long afterwards Sir Samuel Ferguson recalled the dinner party at Smith's house, where to the *élite* of intellectual Dublin the announcement was made, and its effect on the distinguished company: Stokes and Petrie, and Todd and Rowan Hamilton, Romney Robinson and Pim. "I remember the faces of all present from the gentle exaltation of Petrie to the shrewd lines of speculative intelligence round the eyes of Smith, and the large sympathising satisfaction of the mouth of Pim."

For the tremendous task of editor no one could have been found so admirably fitted as John O'Donovan then in his late "thirties" and at the zenith of his powers. Born on 25th July, 1806 at Attateemore in the parish of Slieve Rue, Co. Kilkenny, he had spoken Irish from childhood and, what was rarer, he had learned to read and write it at the humble school where he had also begun the study of Latin at the age of nine. Here he acquired that fine Irish script which he modestly describes as "an ability to transcribe Irish pretty well." His grandfather, Edmund O'Donovan (second son of William Kavanagh O'Donovan, second son of Cornelius of Ballymountain), had, after his marriage to Mary Archdeacon, settled at Attateemore in 1763. Edmund's elder sons, William, Patrick and John, finding prospects in Ireland discouraging, left home early to seek their fortune in other lands. Patrick, described by his distinguished nephew as a "very sensible man of strong powers of intellect, good memory and much experience, after many wanderings and strange adventures by sea and land" returned to Ireland about 1784 and "became the living repository of the traditions of the counties Kilkenny, Carlow and Wexford."

It was from him that the future Irish *savant* learned so much. In a genealogical note on the O'Donovans enshrined in his famous work John O'Donovan speaks of spending much time with Uncle Patrick during the years 1821, '22, and '23, and asserts that from Patrick he himself " first caught that love for Irish and Anglo-Irish history and traditions which have since afforded him so much amusement."[1]

The fourth son of Edmund, Edmund Óg, the annalist's father, remained at home in Attateemore, of which he took a lease in 1791. He was a hardworking, well-doing man, and prospered much during the boom years for farming of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1788, he had married a girl of " planter " stock, Eleanor Hoberlin, thus imitating the example of an ancestor who, " though inordinately proud of his Irish and Anglo-Norman lineage," had lost his heart to a Mary Hoberlin, the daughter of one of Cromwell's men, and made such a good " papist " of her that her Puritan grandmother returned to England in disgust!

It is recorded of Edmund Óg that at his father's death in 1798 he outraged traditional custom by turning out of the house Nicholas the Keener, the local dirge composer (" the last of his profession in that part of the country ") when he proposed to chant the pedigree of the deceased and praise all his relations, widely diffused through the region from Mount Leinster to Waterford and Carrick-on-Suir. He would not allow him to proceed on the ground that Nicholas would sing much " hollow flattery about the Kavanaghs." But fortunately the tradition had already been duly observed at another death, that of Edmund's nephew, John, son of William, son of Cornelius, son of Edmund of Bawnlahan, " when the traditions were for the last time sung, in the most sincere and enthusiastic strain of natural eloquence, by his nurse Brigid Dwyer, who repeated his pedigree and recounted many members of the Kavanagh and other families."[2]

Edmund Óg cannot have been as " tough " as his treatment of Nicholas the Keener would seem to suggest, for when his own time came to die (1817) he desired his eldest son, Michael, as he sat by his bedside, to " remember his descent, which he repeated several times over, and not allow his children to disperse, while he requested that his body should be buried alongwith 'the good men of Dunkitt'—but not beneath the large tombstone." Beneath that tombstone slumber such picturesque and noble figures of the clan as Father Cornelius O'Donovan, John O'Donovan of Ballyneard, called " John of the Trees " on account of the number he planted, and Sean na Pudair, so named from the elegance of his powdered wig.

Edmund Óg's fourth son John, the future *savant*, then a lad of eleven, was standing by while his dying father was recounting the ancient glories of his race; and a quarter of a century later his filial piety and family loyalty

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*. Vol. VI. p. 2159.

[2] *Ibidem*.

placed over Edmund's grave in Dunkitt a stone on which was commemorated not only the heroic strength and courage and *illabata fides* of his father, but the names and virtues of his uncles William and Patrick.

After Edmund Óg's death his eldest son, Michael, assumed the duties of head of the family and had a special care for his delicate young brother, John, whom (recognising his intellectual gifts) he kept at his studies, sending him from the local school to one in Waterford, where he was taught Arithmetic, English Grammar, and Book-keeping. Afterwards John seems to have set up a school himself, for many years later Canon Carrigan met an old man, Peter Grant, who had been one of his pupils. The school did not apparently take up much of his time; for he tells us that he spent most of the years 1821-1823 with his Uncle Patrick. There he delighted to hear all that Patrick could tell him, not only of "the good men of Dunkitt," but of all the families with which they had been allied. It was doubtless from Patrick that he heard his grandfather's tales of those kinsmen of the O'Donovan and Kavanagh families who played such a gallant and picturesque *rôle* in Austrian and French armies and with whom his grandfather had been familiar: the latter's second cousin John Baptist Kavanagh, "who passed into Bohemia and became Baron of Gnidnitz;" the Baron's father, called Brian "na Stroak" Kavanagh from the face wound he had received in a duel with a Williamite officer at the Battle of the Boyne; Morgan More Kavanagh, "one of the largest men in Europe"; and Morgan's cousin, Edmund O'Donovan, who often stayed with him at the grandfather's house when they came from France to Ireland on recruiting missions for the Irish Brigade.

In 1823 Michael O'Donovan, the lease of his farm expired, was obliged to come to Dublin to seek a livelihood. Having found a place in a merchant's business house, he brought his young brother John to Dublin also and sent him to a Latin school, with the intention of preparing him for Maynooth. Four years later, his ability to transcribe Irish becoming known to James Scurry, John's name was suggested to James Hardiman, Deputy Commissioner of Irish Records, who was looking for some one to copy Irish MSS. for him. For three years John worked for the historian of Galway, and during that time he made the transcript of Peter O'Connell's Irish Dictionary, now in the British Museum. But the work was hard and the pay small, so that the poor lad, barely able to keep body and soul together, fell into bad health. Indeed he might have died but for the kindness of Myles John O'Reilly, who invited him to his place in Leix, Heath House. Here, while proper nourishing food and good country air restored his strength, he had a happy time browsing in his host's fine library, where he came across the works of such giants as Colgan, Ussher, Ware, etc. These he studied ardently, and being gifted (as Father Paul Walsh reminds us) "with a prodigious memory and unrivalled capacity for intellectual retention, he made enormous strides in the acquisition of historical

learning." During his stay at Heath House, he transcribed and translated the *Book of Fenagh* and copied out for his kind host extracts from the *Four Masters* concerning the O'Reilly's. This, he afterwards stated, first wakened his interest in the *Annals*.

Before he left Dublin, young O'Donovan had given some lessons in Irish to Lieutenant Larcom, then recently arrived in our land to take over the direction of the Ordnance Survey. John, his health restored and now convinced he had no vocation for the priesthood, decided to apply for the post in the Archaeological department of the " Survey " left vacant by the death of O'Reilly, the Irish lexicographer. Myles John O'Reilly rather discouraged him when he heard of the application, for the pay was small and the work seemed more or less in the nature of a " blind alley." But O'Donovan was glad, indeed, when a cordial answer from Larcom sent him to Dr. Petrie's House at 21 Great Charles Street, Dublin, with a letter of recommendation, which secured the post for him without delay.

The ten years during which John O'Donovan laboured for the Ordnance Survey were momentous not for himself alone but for Ireland ; and to them we may date back that kindling of the national consciousness which, fanned to bright flame by *The Nation*, has never since been extinguished. Under the inspiration of Captain Larcom, Lieutenant Drummond and Dr. Petrie the target aimed at was to make the Irish Survey more general and perfect than any work of its kind ever attempted. " While Drummond, encamped with his staff of engineers on the Northern mountains and flashing his newly discovered light from height to height, was forming a school not merely of geodetical but of meteorological science, Captain Larcom found new paths of enquiry opening at every step, new sources of information opening up in answer to every search."[1] " He saw," says Dr. Stokes in his *Life of Petrie*, " that however valuable the accurate surveying and mapping of each county, as well as the description of its geographical features, might be, the work would be deficient, if it did not embrace all attainable knowledge of its topography, including its natural products, its history, and antiquities, economic state and social conditions. A staff of civil assistants was organised, to whom the duty of making social and statistical enquiries was entrusted, while to others, who were Irish scholars, the more difficult task of orthographical researches with a view to obtaining the correct names of the baronies, townlands and parishes was allotted. The investigation of all existing remains, whether Pagan or Christian—the cahirs, raths, tumuli, cromlechs, and other monuments of primitive times, the lowly beehive houses of the early saints of Ireland, the oratories, churches, towers, crosses and monumental stones, the description of the Celtic and Norman castles, and of the later monasteries and abbeys was required. A memoir embracing all these subjects was to accompany the map of each county, so that, when completed, the work

[1] Mrs. Sarah Atkinson's Essay on Eugene O'Curry.

of the Ordnance Survey would embrace not only the geographical features of the country, but its geology natural history ancient and modern records, and antiquities, economic state, and social condition of each and every barony, townland and parish throughout the length and breadth of the land."

For the "field work" involved in this majestic programme O'Donovan, with his knowledge of ancient and modern Irish and his profound study of Irish history, was admirably fitted. Sometime after he had been recruited for the work, Eugene O'Curry (who had been "discovered" in Limerick by George Smith) joined the staff, and each of these two scholars found his own gifts supplemented by those of the other. Later the bond of scholarly fraternity became more intimate and personal, for they married two sisters.

In addition to O'Donovan and O'Curry, Petrie had enlisted men like O'Keeffe, O'Connor, Clarence Mangan and Wakeman. To the latter we owe a vivid pen picture of the workers gathered in the back parlour of Petrie's house, which served as their headquarters: "There was our venerable chief, with his ever ready smile and gracious word; there poor Clarence Mangan with his queer puns and jokes, and odd little cloak, and wonderful hat. It was in that office Mangan penned his *Woman of Three Cows*, and I verily believe the composition did not occupy him half an hour. At the time O'Donovan was about thirty years of age. As in the case of every man who has risen to distinction, he was an unwearied worker, never sparing himself and holding his occupation a labour of love. With all he was a general favourite and, in the intervals of his most serious business, would often give us some of his experiences as a traveller, telling his tale in a rich, emphatic manner peculiarly his own."

In his valuable memoir on O'Donovan,[1] the late Father Patrick MacSweeny has told us something of the methods and fruits of his work, both in the office and in "the field." "At first, lists of place-names were drawn up, and for this purpose he consulted printed and manuscript sources. His knowledge of the Irish language stood him in good stead, and his information with time was encyclopedic. But this work was only preparatory to his work in the field. With a mind replete with historic, antiquarian, and literary lore, and with an imagination quick to recreate scenes of a distant past, he started out on his tour of investigation and verification in the various counties of Ireland."

We get a clear picture of O'Donovan's journeying in the famous "Survey Letters," of which 103 volumes are deposited in the R.I.A., and we value them not only for their scholarly content but for the light they throw on the man himself and on that Pre-Famine Ireland which they bring so vividly before us. They reveal, too—and this is less pleasing—the conditions in which he was forced to travel (mostly on foot) and the

[1] *A Group of Nation Builders: O'Donovan, O'Curry, Petrie.*

miserable official parsimony which added to his difficulties. Thus, in one of the Co. Down *Letters* he frets about the loss of time (three days) and money (nine shillings) involved in visits to Hillsborough, which he had to repeat. In another he complains of a feverish condition brought on by damp beds. In yet another he hints at the hardships of long tramps—sometimes as much as thirty miles a day on wintry roads—the bad food and irregular meals, the damp beds and other annoyances to be met with in country publichouses where he was obliged to put up.

In 1842 the Government, partly from parsimony but still more through fear of the awakening of Irish national spirit, closed down the Survey after only one *Memoir* (that on Londonderry) had been published. But regrettable as this action was, it had for O'Donovan one advantage : it left him free to enter on that career of original investigation and editing of our manuscript literature, " which opens a new chapter in the history of the origins of European civilisation."

As early as 1832 O'Donovan had published in the *Dublin Penny Journal* a translation of King Aldfrid's Poem and the text and translation of the Charter of Newry. Four years later Dr. Todd, who had employed him to compile a catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity College, was anxious that he should undertake the translation and editing of some of these texts. For that purpose Todd applied for a Government grant ; but when, as might be expected, the grant was refused, he decided to canvass, among his friends of the nobility and professional classes, the idea of starting a Society where members by their subscriptions might finance the project. The result was the founding of the " Irish Archaeological Society " in 1840—to be followed by the appearance of the " Celtic Society " some years later. Under the *aegis* of these Societies—and that of the " Archaeological and Celtic Society " in which they were finally amalgamated—both O'Donovan and O'Curry produced some of their most significant works. Among those we may mention O'Donovan's edition of the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many and Hy Fiacrach*, the topographical poems of O Dubhagáin and O hUidhrin,[1] the *Circuit of Ireland* by Muircherteach MacNeill, the *Banquet of Dun na nGedh* the *Battle of Magh Rath*, *Leabhar na Ceart* and the *Martyrology of Donegal*.

In 1845 O'Donovan published his *Irish Grammar*, which won the praise of German scholars like Bopp and Grimm, the latter of whom was responsible for our Irish *savant's* election as corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Berlin in the year that Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica* won for that great Celticist the same distinction.

The year 1848 is memorable for the publication of O'Donovan's edition of that portion of the *Annals of the Four Masters* which covers the years from A.D. 1172 to 1616. Of this work Father Paul Walsh declares—and his tribute strikes a responsive chord in Irish hearts—" I know of no other

[1] These poems and the *Martyrology of Donegal* appeared after his death.

so huge source of Irish historical material illustrated by the labours of a single man." What these labours were we may dimly guess at from O'Donovan's own "Introductory Remarks" to the completed work. Besides the two autographs of the *Annals* in the R.I.A. and Trinity College, he had to examine carefully manuscripts of Keating, the *Leabhar Gabhala*, the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, the *Annals of Ulster* as well as Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* and Latin translations of this Irish historical work made for Sir James Ware. One of the difficulties he had to solve was the mode of printing. In 1845 he submitted this question to a small body of experts: Todd, Petrie, Aquila and Joseph Huband Smith and, waiving his own ideas, adopted the rules they laid down for him. At first O'Donovan and his publisher had merely intended to publish the portion of the Annals from 1172 to 1616, the previous portion having been published, with a Latin translation by Dr. Charles O'Conor, from the autograph in the Library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe. But this edition was so full of errors—due partly to O'Conor's misunderstanding of the contractions and partly to his ignorance of Irish topography and geography—that it was decided to complete the work by a new edition and English translation of the *Annals* from the Year of the World 2242 to A.D. 1171. This further tremendous task was immediately taken in hands by O'Donovan and the work given to the public in 1851. As there was no autograph of this portion of the *Annals* in Ireland, O'Donovan used O'Conor's text, correcting it with the help of two manuscripts in Trinity College.

On the completion of his *Magnum Opus* O'Donovan was awarded the Cunningham Gold Medal by the Royal Irish Academy and the degree of LL.D. (*honoris causa*) by Dublin University, while a pension of the princely sum of £50 per annum was obtained for him from the Government. This, with a Professorship and Examinership in Celtic in Queen's College Belfast, brought his total emoluments to £170 a year. The necessity of providing more adequately for his wife and children made him contemplate leaving Ireland and joining his numerous kinsfolk in America; but the establishment of the Brehon Law Commission in 1852 kept him at home.

Alas, a few years later, John O'Donovan was struck down by rheumatic fever, the germs of which he had contracted from the wettings and hardships of his work for the Ordnance Survey. At midnight on the 9th December, 1861, after having received from his old schoolmate, Father Nicholas O'Farrell, the last rites of the Church, the faithful toiler rested from his labours. Six months later he was followed to the grave by Eugene O'Curry. "O'Donovan and O'Curry gone," lamented Dr. Reeves, "and Dr. Todd in poor health, and Whitley Stokes thousands of miles away, it seems to me as if a black curtain had fallen over the sunny scene and the lively movement which Irish literature presented a short time ago."

HELENA CONCANNON

SOME PICTURESQUE PHILOSOPHERS

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

IV.—Plato and the Discovery of Heaven

MANY Greeks before Plato had surmised the existence of heaven. He discovered it. His predecessors had founded their opinion on wishful or superficial thinking or on a nameless tradition or perhaps on the late echoes in the memory of man of the voice of God once heard in Eden. He founded his conviction on what he held to be coercive logical inference and believed because he could do no other. The Ionic hypothesis of a reservoir of resources for the world, even though it were only a reservoir of water, and the misty speculations of Pythagoras and Socrates on a spiritual world kindled Plato's zeal for discovery as passionately as the dreams of the Antipodes fired the resolution of the Renascence explorers. And the rough initial theory that launched their ships was the same in principle as that which launched his mind : that there must be another side to the world as there is to every picture, that a world manifestly incomplete must be completed somewhere.

I

It is true that Plato misunderstood the nature of heaven. His conception of heaven, in which the Ideas were seated immovably in haughty helplessness each on its eternal perch, was no more like the real thing than the creatures in the medieval bestiaries were like the fauna of the foreign lands to which they professed to be native. Indeed nothing like the Platonic heaven has ever existed except the English House of Lords ; and some scholar may yet contend that the House of Lords is the real prototype, the static model upon which the whole busy world ought to be founded. But Plato's misunderstanding of the nature of heaven does not challenge his claim to have discovered it. Nor did he wholly misunderstand its nature ; for he conceived it as the fixed abode of eternal law, prescribing for the welfare of the world. It would in fact be more just to liken the relation of the real heaven and the Platonic heaven to the relation between the real world and a Disney cartoon, which is untrue because it represents abstractions in the concrete forms of a child's imagination and yet suggests the truth like an allegory.

When Socrates was condemned Plato was in his late twenties. Grief broke down his health. But when he arose from his bed to learn that Socrates had died, he took on a new strength and independence. He had lain down a boy and a disciple in spirit ; he arose a man and a master. He now swore the chivalrous revenge of devoting his life to the continuance of his master's mission. He would forsake his political career and assail

the politicians and the judicial murderers with philosophy. Since the families of both his parents were noble and wealthy and politically influential, Plato's abandonment of his career must have been a serious sacrifice comparable in significance with that of the Poverello. But his first need was safety from the enemies of Socrates. He found temporary refuge at Megara with Eucleides and others of the Socratic company; but he would not settle down anywhere, for he had chosen Athens as the scene of his life-work. So after some further travels in Northern Africa he judged that the feeling against Socrates had died down and returned to Athens. Here he spent eight years lecturing and writing those early dialogues in which he sets forth only the authentic doctrine of Socrates.

Meanwhile Plato had come to recognise that he could not achieve the aim of Socrates with only Socrates's resources. Socrates had shown that certain actions were regarded as good and just at all time by all men. But was it certain that this opinion was not founded on a blind, and perhaps misleading, tendency? Socrates would have answered that the tendency was knowledge founded in human nature, which was the Socratic idea of moral good. Even so, knowledge presupposes its object; what object previous to knowledge had made these actions good for human nature or had adapted the nature to the action? What can we know with certainty? Without an answer and without certainty there can be no constancy in moral performance. But the answer requires a full, coherent, reasoned metaphysic of the origin of man and things. Moreover the answer must solve the Parmenidean challenge to knowledge, which to a Socratic was a challenge to the very possibility of virtue. Plato must solve the problem of the One and the Many. Plato therefore had to complete the philosophy of Socrates. He did so in the Dialogues and put the fully developed philosophy into the mouth of Socrates to signify that it was in fact merely the completion of Socrates's own thought.

II

Within the limits of this article it is only possible to outline an interpretation of the leading principles of Plato's all-embracing thought without adequate examination of the many rival interpretations. But Aristotle and St. Thomas have won the assent of most scholars to their interpretation, which is the one here outlined. From the absolute inability of the mind to dissent from certain propositions Plato rightly concluded that we have certainty of some truths. The answer to his problem will consist in analysing the meaning of certainty and deducing its conditions. Now knowledge is a sort of sight of reality, and certainty means a sight of reality so clear that we suspect no possibility of being deceived. Hence to all true knowledge there corresponds a real object, which must reproduce every detail represented in the knowledge since the knowledge is true.

There cannot be an idea that is not an idea of something and, if the idea is true, of something real. To every idea therefore there exists somewhere a replica in reality. Every noun means directly an eternal thing that is a universal as the noun is a universal. To an abstract idea like goodness there corresponds a real subsistent form or real Idea of pure Good, that is, constituted of nothing else but good; to a universal idea like man there corresponds a real universal man who can be said to be I and you and yet neither of us in particular. I know the meaning of man as a universal and therefore I know man as a universal. I must even have seen the universal man, not in this world where things are singular and transitory, but before my birth in the heavenly house of the Ideas. There my soul and others were occupied in contemplation of the Ideas until, for inattention in class (Plato's original sin), they were hurled to earth and in a half-stunned state imprisoned in our ignominious bodies. Our latent memories of the Ideas enable us here to recognise the things of earth that imitate them, to recognise as a man this man because we have seen Man. But the transitory things of earth have only the half-reality of shadows and reflections of the eternal things of heaven, like images mirrored in a swaying water that melt into snaky fumes of colour almost as soon as they are imposed.

For the less durable a thing is the less real it is. The fundamental Platonic principle is that thought is the measure of reality; only those things whose ideas are judged necessary and eternal exist unconditionally and in the full sense. The changeable things of earth are therefore mixed with a certain measure of non-being by which one imitation of the eternal Ideas *is not* another and *is not* that which it is about to become. And because non-being is part of them their existence is problematical. Plato with his eyes fixed confidently on heaven had lost faith in the existence of earth. Yet deference to his principle that there was a real thing exactly corresponding to every element of thought compelled him to ask what real thing could be called non-being. He came to the conclusion that it could only be empty space. Moreover his method of deriving different parts and aspects of the same thing from separate Ideas prevented him from recognising their union as a natural composition or as anything more than a group of realities. Man's soul and body, for instance, were merely fitted together with no more mutual effect on the nature of each than have adjacent cog-wheels in the same clock. Hence the union of the imitations of the Ideas with non-being that constituted material things was but a mixture, a mere immersion of a form in a bath of emptiness.

Thus Plato could explain the eternal authority that lay behind moral law; it was the Idea of All Good to which man was bound to conform himself and his actions on pain of debasing himself. He could explain the reality of non-being to Parmenides as limitation—for instance the

non-being of ice in fire, the limitation of ice by *not being* fire—and so justify the reality of the world at least as an appearance with a precarious foundation in reality. Unfortunately he also left it open to Aristotle to point out that subsistent universals were either identical with things not identical amongst themselves and therefore contradictory, or not so identical and therefore no more universal than is the tailor's dummy respecting the customers who copy his clothes. He left it open to Aristotle to point out that the void of space could never be a constituent of a real thing and that the mere grouping of substances could never explain the close unity of a natural substance like an animal. But Aristotle himself made the mistake of rejecting the Platonic Theory of Ideas as incorrigible. His own doctrine of abstraction leaves himself still exposed to the Platonic argument : True knowledge is always of something real. But some true knowledge is of universals. Therefore universals are real. What are these universals for Aristotle, these genera and species that we know? He can only answer that they are not realities, though founded in reality, and thereby must jeopardise the claim of the mind to be the faculty of truth. St. Thomas will solve the difficulty by an infusion of Neoplatonism into Aristoteleanism. Yet so long and laborious must his answer be that it will seem to many like the wriggling of one caught in a trap and induce Scotus to recall Plato's doctrine of the literal conformity between ideas and their objects in a new form. And only yesterday Whitehead was able, without incurring any derision, to revive almost unmitigated Platonism in his doctrine of Eternal Objects.

Meanwhile Plato was now able to attain his final purpose, to draw his conclusions on the moral life of the individual and the political life of the state. The supreme Idea of Good, president over the congress of the Ideas, was Plato's notion of God, though not so called by him. If anyone could be got to know the Idea of Good, what Good was in its own reality, he would always do good, Plato contended ; for Socrates had shown that virtue was knowledge. Submission to the Good by clarifying the knowledge of it was virtue and happiness for man, which included even the suffering of persecution for justice' sake. It comprised wisdom, the knowledge of Good, in the supreme or rational part of the soul, and subjection to that knowledge of the nobler passions by the practice of courage and of the ignobler passions by the practice of self-control. The ideal city was then planned and disciplined on the model of the perfect soul. Division of labour was necessary to leave no need unprovided for and to secure efficiency. Yet if the principle of division is carried too far, so that each worker specialises in a very minute and easy task (the principle of modern chain-labour), the result will be over-production in each particular instance. There will be a demand for many new callings and consequent immigration and over-population. In the resultant need for territorial expansion Plato found the general origin of

war. He would therefore allow only three classes in his ideal state corresponding to the three parts of the soul : the rulers who had knowledge of the Good by philosophy, the soldiers with the virtue of courage, and the artisans whose practice of self-control would nowadays be called contentment with the position of wage-slaves. For it is with consternation that we find Plato revealing himself in the *Republic* as a totalitarian, advocating the practices of euthanasia, eugenics, and the absolute state-control of property and the family that are the most unpleasant features of the utilitarian political theory defended by some modern scientists. Indeed for Plato freedom in private life was another name for anarchy. No price was too great to pay for the absolute power of the philosopher ruler. His city was to be formed, even in the smallest details of the private lives of its citizens, not by the gradual development of custom but by law determined by the eternal truth of the Ideas. We know that he was wrong. Yet might he not argue with us, if he were alive, that custom is but usurpation of right sanctioned by the cowardice of the authorities ?

III

But Plato's picturesque aspect was not confined to his philosophy. At the end of the eight years during which he was evolving his system in his own mind he determined on a more methodical way of teaching than that of Socrates. Inspired by the example of the School of Megara founded by Eucleides and by the memory of the Pythagorean brotherhood, he resolved to devote the whole of his great wealth to the foundation of a college of philosophy. North west of the city walls Cimon had laid out a delightful public park called the Gardens of Academe, from Academus, the local legendary hero. Plato had built his own house and garden in this suburb and now opened it as a school called the Academy. As many as possible of the young men who came to study slept in the house and, like the Pythagoreans, practised communism in goods ; but since students soon thronged from all parts of Greece it is impossible that they could all have lodged in the Academy. They had a gymnasium too for athletic exercise in common, perhaps with Plato himself for coach ; for he had been in action both as soldier and athlete. Observance of the religious practices of the State of Athens was obligatory, for Socrates had maintained the necessity of obeying the state even when its commands were ill-advised. And so, though no one in the Academy accepted the popular religion literally, Plato had erected on his estate an altar on which sacrifice was regularly offered and a chapel dedicated to the Holy Muses.

In this Arcadian retreat Plato gave formal lectures in the open air without notes, though the students took notes. After his death a splendid library was compiled for them after the example of Aristotle's. In these conditions Plato believed that he could best excite the prenatal knowledge

of his hearers to explicit memory, and so reserved for his lectures doctrines too deep to convey in his writings. His greatest educational rival was Isocrates, a convert from sophistry, who defended the humanistic thesis that the end of education was the training of taste. But Plato always firmly held that the end of education was knowledge, to which taste was but a means. Both of them, however, were stout champions of the union of all the Greek states against Persia. And there is reason to believe that they were friends and often met in conversation. What Olympian talk has the world not lost because no Boswell was present!

The curriculum of studies in the Academy opened with a course in arithmetic, the science of abstract numbers, and plane and solid geometry, the science of abstract continuous quantities. The purpose of the course was to train the students in thinking of abstract being, not to train them in reasoning; for Plato says surprisingly that he "had hardly ever met a mathematician who could reason" (*Rep.* 531). It is noteworthy also that Socrates is made to commend solid geometry, for the fact evinces the non-historical character of the Dialogues. Solid geometry was invented by the Platonist, Theaetetus, after Socrates's death. Astronomy, the study of the movements of the spheres or orbits on which the stars were supposed to be fixed, next trained the students to conceive abstract change in the visible order; and harmonics or the study of melodic intervals trained them to conceive abstract change in the audible order. Biology prepared the material object of the final study. Dialectics or philosophy was the purpose of all these studies and of education itself and in turn the foundation of every other science, since every science dealt with some kind of being. The method of philosophy was still the Socratic one of proposing and testing tentative definitions until the true one was found. But Plato introduced a scientific division of ideas into genera and species that was to become the basis of Aristotelean logic. This curriculum, in spite of great changes, can still be recognised in outline in the *Ratio Studiorum* of the early Jesuits. No university or school in the world is as old as the Academy was when it was abolished; for it lasted for nearly a thousand years, until in 529 Justinian closed it in accordance with his edict forbidding the teaching of pagan philosophy.

IV

The life of a professor of philosophy should be almost as grave and uneventful as that of a Platonic Idea itself. But one episode in Plato's life has all the comedy and melodrama of the world of non-being. On a visit to Italy and Sicily in 387 to discuss Pythagorean philosophy with Archytas of Tarentum, the great soldier and mathematician, and with other intellectuals he won the allegiance of a high-born and chivalrous boy, Dion of Syracuse. Dion had just risen to power under the wing of another Syracusan, one of the world's great upstarts. A Carthaginian

invasion of Sicily in 406 B.C. had revealed the incompetence of the Syracusan army and the imminent threat to the Greek cities. In the assembly convoked to discuss the crisis an ambitious back-bencher named Dionysius arose to attack the government. He had been an uncouth quill-driver who had concluded that the sword was mightier than the pen and had just distinguished himself by the virtuosity of his destructiveness in a street riot. He now turned the language of the gutter loose upon the defeated generals. The assembly called him to order in vain, for being both bewildered and convinced they were half-hearted ; and at last to relieve their ears they voted for new commanders, including Dionysius. That master of calumny soon ruined the reputations of his colleagues by his whispering and was appointed commander-in-chief. A complaint that his life was in danger made the assembly grant him a bodyguard, and forthwith he was a dictator or, to use the Greek word, a tyrant. He kept his precarious position until his death in 367 by shrewdly mixing courage with cunning, collaboration with the enemy with brilliantly conceived onslaughts on their strongholds, bribery and toadying with judicial murders of enemies, friends, and relations. He conquered all but a corner of Sicily and spread his rule to southern Italy. Indeed his alliances with all the Greek cities of Italy and with Molossia in Old Greece were but disguised annexations. But he yearned for respectability and in private wrote poems with much sweat and many helpers. Whether they were good poems or not must be judged by the two facts that they won prizes and that he was hooted off the field when he attempted to recite them in public at the Olympic Games. So expectant was he of assassination that he preferred to singe his beard with a glowing coal rather than allow anyone to open a razor near his face. Though not so ranked by most judges, he must be among the world's most thorough scoundrels (even Herod the Great had more dignity), and perhaps this article will help to restore the credit due to an outstanding exponent of one form of human activity. Now Dionysius in 397 married the sister of Dion and took Dion himself for his first minister. Indeed to save time he married two wives at the same ceremony.

It is with regret that one turns from this engagingly horrible figure to consider an exemplary philosopher, especially when there is so much more to say of Dionysius. But we have yielded to temptation long enough. Dion had been captivated by Plato's visionary description of the ideal city, and he longed to realise the ideal in Syracuse. Obviously it would be sufficient for Plato to talk to Dionysius to win him to his views. So he wrote to Plato, during the latter's visit to Italy in 387, inviting him to Syracuse to see Mount Etna. Plato came, but he came prepared only to see an eruptive volcano ; it was disconcerting to be confronted by Dionysius. However he could not resist the opportunity offered of turning his ideas into a work of art by embodying them in an actual city.

He interviewed Dionysius in presence of his court. Now Plato could only speak the truth without compromise ; so he at once began to lecture the tyrant on the happiness of virtue, the penalties of wickedness, the cowardice of despots, and the rights of subjects. If we read the Eighth Book of the *Republic* and note how accurate a picture it is of the character of Dionysius, we can hardly blame the latter for regarding the discourse as too apposite to be polite. Moreover, when scurrility is delivered with an air of judicial impartiality like a carefully considered opinion (this point is always being forgotten by lorry-drivers and sergeant-majors), it is immeasurably more effective than if uttered in anger. Plato's discourse at any rate was so effective that it won from most of his hearers an applause that was ominous. After a couple of such interviews Dionysius began to dislike him intensely and encouraged him to go home. Pollis, the Spartan envoy, was returning ; Plato could go on the same trireme. But Pollis had been secretly induced to fall in with Dionysius's plans and, when the trireme drew into Aegina, Plato was seized and sold in the market as a slave. Fortunately a friend was at hand who bought him back almost immediately, and he returned to Athens wondering what light the Ideas could shed on such an experience. Such was his first visit to Syracuse in the dangerous role of peace-maker.

V

About twenty years afterwards Dionysius heard that he had at last won the prize for tragedy at the Lenaean Festival in Athens, and in the ensuing wassail he died gloriously in his cups, helped by an opiate administered by his son who feared that his father would change his will ; for, let Pioneers take warning, the old man was not used to heavy drinking. The Younger Dionysius, under the influence of Dion, was now all for the ideal city under the control of the Ideas. Together they invited Plato to return. Plato's knees trembled ; but he was a gentleman and came. Nevertheless he was also a martinet, and he came now not to instruct but to command. His first command was that all should learn geometry. At once the floors of the rooms in the Syracusan acropolis on the little peninsula of Ortygia were strewn with sand, and with brave show of enthusiasm the captains and courtiers began drawing figures and working out problems under the direction of Plato and Archytas. Young Dionysius was charmed. But when Plato ordered him too to study his triangles it was another matter ; though he made a pretence of attempting to obey, he presently became sulky and rebellious. Meanwhile his father's friends and the mercenary captains who made a living out of the policy of oppression began to warn him of the drawbacks of virtue. He had none of his father's strength or genius or temperance and he began to hate Dion. One day he asked Dion to look at a trireme in the harbour. Once aboard he flourished in his face a letter that purported

(wrongly) to prove Dion a traitor and had the rowers seize Dion and spirit him away to Italy while he returned to the city. But though he had banished Dion and had lost all his enthusiasm for the ideal state, Dionysius retained a pathetic hope of keeping Plato's good opinion. He kept him in the acropolis really a prisoner though nominally a guest. Outside the mercenaries were thirsting for his blood. Only the importunity of Archytas, backed doubtless by his known prowess as a soldier, induced Dionysius to let Plato return to Athens at last.

Yet a third time Plato returned to Syracuse on the invitation of Dionysius; for even the weakling loved the philosopher who could be frightened but not corrupted. This time Plato's only object was to reconcile Dion to the tyrant. But his efforts only aroused Dionysius to take notice of Dion's preparations for a return in arms and to confiscate Dion's property. One day while Plato was walking in the garden of the acropolis he heard his name shouted by many voices and a rush of feet towards the rampart that cut off the isthmus from the rest of the town and the thud of scaling ladders flung into position against the wall. The mercenaries had mutinied against a curtailment of their pay by Dionysius and wanted revenge on the visitor to whose counsels they attributed the curtailment. Dionysius was just in time to stop the assault by conceding all their demands. But now Archytas, who seems to have been in the pay of Dionysius though he never sold his honour, again insisted on Plato's liberation. His smuggling of Plato out of the citadel and on to a trireme must have been an exciting business, but we know no details of it. Plato returned to Athens, where he was rejoined for a while by Dion. The subsequent tyranny of Dion, his attempt to be generous, his own occasional lapse into crime and his dismal failure to honour the Ideas in his government, his assassination by another usurper, and the return of Dionysius may have saddened Plato, who did not live to hear of the expulsion of Dionysius for the second time at the hands of Timoleon, the only hero besides Plato in all this turbulent history; but these events are outside the scope of this essay.

Plato for the rest of his life lived in the Academy. In it he died in 347 and to it he bequeathed both his body and his worldly wealth. His soul, he hoped, would return to its pre-natal state of contemplation of the Good in heaven, and we may surmise that its destiny has been even happier than he had hoped. The charm of his Dialogues and the suggestion of fairy tale in the vision of his cosy little heaven are the cause of his fascination for some readers. But there have always been those who have recognised the constancy of his aim at rigorous logic and the element of momentous truth in his conclusions. In him philosophy did not merely advance a step; it reached a part of its ultimate purpose, the vital discernment of the enduring nature of the spiritual and of the flimsiness of material things. For Christianity has borne him out in his contention

that the important world is the world that has been the origin and exemplar of this one and is destined to be a more fitting abode for our immortal spirits than this gimcrack universe of stars. " All that is transitory is only a likeness " said Goethe ; and in that one sentence he uttered not only the essence of Platonism but the only possible consolation for the undying mind when brought to despair by the incessant corruptions and disasters of a world destined by its nature to frustrate our efforts to preserve it.

ARTHUR LITTLE

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J.

LXXXVII

POET SEEKS RECONCILIATION WITH HIS PATRON.

Mac Firbis in his genealogy of Ó Maolmhuaidh has :—Ruaidhrí m. Aodha m. Fearghail m. Fionnghuine, etc. This is probably Ruaidhrí mac Aodha Óig, Lord of Fir Cheall who died in 1383, and probably also the man here eulogised by Aonghus Ruadh Ó Dálaigh († 1350). For another version of the story in stt. 18–24 cf. Man. Cust. ii 321.

AONGHAS RUADH Ó DÁLAIGH .cc.

1. Ceangail do shíoth riom, a Ruaidhrí,
nach raibh ann cúis fan cóir sgeinm ;
maith caingean gan fhíoch gan élang ;
síoth dhaingean dénam do dheilbh.

2. Dénam láinshíth, a fhlaith Bóinne,
ar nach bia críoch an ccéin raibh ;
dealbhthar an síodh leam nach loitfeam ;
bíodh gan cheann gan fhoircheann air.

3. Ná bíodh ort meisi, a mheic Aodha,
d'fhasdódh a ccúigeadh chlann tTáil ;
suil thréigi sinn duit ar ndúthaigh
druid rinn is dlúthaigh ar ndáil.

4. An tsíoth bhuan do bhí ghar ccineadh
ceanglam mar nar cheangail dias ;
dá mbé mur do bhíodh gach n-uaire
as é síodh as bhuaine bhias.

5. Go Magh Midhe a measg mo chinidh
créad fa ttiocfuinn 's tú am chionn?
leanfaidh meisi do Mhuigh Mhidhe
dá mbeisi, a thuir Line, liom.

6. Dá rabh móid re muinntir nDálaigh
gud dhreich fhaoiligh nar ob gliaidh
leanfad, a bhile óig Almhan,
tred mhóid d'fhine barrghlan Briain.

7. Tusa ar mh'aicme d'altrom móide,
mé ar tí ghríosaidh do ghruadh ndearg;
fearr sinn 's ar ccungnamh le chéile;
turnadh, a chinn Éile, t'fhearg.

8. Í Mhaoil-mhuaidh is muinntear Dhálaigh
druim re chéile nír chleacht siad;
ionann méin dá bhfuil 's dá bhfeolfhuil,
d'fhuil Néill is d'fhuil Eoghain iad.

9. Ionann, gin go hionann sloinneadh,
seanchas damhsa 's dod dhreich shaoir;
nochan fhuil sriabh ar ar seanchas
go Niall, a thuir ghealchas Ghaoil.

10. Beag mo chion re cúis do mhóide,
mór mo ghaol riot, a fhlaith Liag;
an eadh léigfe dol far ndaoinibh,
nó an ttréigfe ar son aoinfhir iad?

11. Ar aoinfhear uainn mas eadh chuire
na cionta, a Ruaidhrí, rí ar slóigh,
do (bhiadh) tre aoinfhear (don aicme),
dá sgaoileadh (san mhaicne) mhóir.

12. Rioth teangadh a ttighibh óla
d'ulc bhréige fa mbiadh do ghrúg;
dá ttugadh meisge a rádh ribhsi
dál nach meisde sibhsi súd.

13. As é an dán molta, a mheic Aodha,
íoc na haoire 's ní hé an cradh;
dá ccuire mé an dán fa dhaoirsi
do badh nár é dhaoibhsi is damh.

14. Dámadh áil leam, a fhlaith Bóinne,
breath do dhénamh red dhreich mbuig
—ní dhearnas cion—ciodh fa ttiobhruinn
cion san chion nach diongnuinn duid?

15. Trem theangaidh féin ní fríoth chugam
cúis mhóidi Ruaidhrí rosg gorm;
do bhiadh mealladh d'fhior is eire
im chion teangadh eile orm.

16. Ná tuga meisi móid bhfolaigh
ar aoibh th'urlabhra, a fhir Ché,
ná ar dheallradh ngeal th'aighthe óige,
ós fear aithne móide mé.

17. Faoiltigh oram th'aghaidh mhiochair,
mínigh briathra do bheoil deirg,
éisd red laoidhibh, a fhlaith Eine,
caith re daoinibh eile th'fheirg.

18. Sgél budh cosmhail do chosg th'fheirge
agam duit ní damhna rúin,
sgél na Maol Midhe gan mhearbhall,
a bhile saor dreachmhall Dúin.

19. Fearg Fhearghais (do) fhás re a chineadh
a ccath Gáirighe, a ghéag Mhis,
go bhfríoth cealg (ar an bhflaith) féine;
nír mhaith fearg ná réidhe ris.

20. Cealg Chon cCulainn do chosg Fhearghuis
d'Fhianaibh Uladh, a fhir Liag,
do ba cealg áigh ar ar earmuis
nachar sgáin fearg Fhearghuis iad.

21. Teagasg Fearghais do Choin Chuluinn
do chosg a fheirge, a fhir Chro,
a fhearg do chaithimh re cnochaibh;
braithidh gur chealg dhochair dhó.

22. Na trí cnuic fa comhghar d'Fhearghas,
gér fheidhm teasgadh na ttrí ccnoc,
orra tug na Maola Midhe,
rug craobha Line gan lot.

23. Ag sin an chúis far choisg Fearghas
an bhfeirg móir nach maoldaois rígh ;
ag sin adhbhar na Maol Midhe,
a chraobh armghlan Thighe an Trír.

24. Báidh Fhearghais as í fa-deara
gan díoth n-Uladh le a fheirg ruid ;
an chúis do shaor iad ar Fhearghas,
a chraobh Liag, do dhearbhas duid.

25. Déna mur sin, saor mo mhaicne,
a Í Mhaol-mhuaidh nar mheath ceird ;
coisg do neimh, a mhílidh Muaidhi,
dírigh mur sin uainne t'fheirg.

26. Seol seachuinn go sluaghaibh biodhbhadh
do bhroinigh sgeanmdha sgiath mbreac ;
tabhair, a bharr Éile, a n-aigheadh
ar ghléire nGall Laighean leat.

27. Druid siar t'fhaghla ar oirthear Mumhan,
a Í Mhaol-mhuaidh nar mhaol clú ;
ná coigil soir breacchlár Banbha
'na cheartlár soin tarla thú.

28. Tabhair lá do léim Teamhra,
tabhuir lá do lingfeadh Colt,
tabhair an lá eile d'Almhain,
gé tá t'eire d'fhaghlaibh ort.

29. Urlár aoibhinn t'fhearainn dúthaigh
dromchladh Éirionn, a fholt cas ;
as coimhdheas tarla, a chleath Chodhail,
dhá leath Banbha d'fhoghail as.

30. Leath Coinn, leath Mogha, a mheic Aodha,
madh áil leatsa léim a bport
beag ttarbha leath do na leithibh,
a chleath Bhanbha, d'fheithimh ort.

31. Na Goill a-tá ar tí do dhúithche
díoghail t'fholaidh orra súd ;
lugha as mheath foghla ná ar bhfógra
is forbha chreach bhFódla fúd.

32. Ag sin an chúis fan cóir dhamhsa
dán do chuma dod chéibh fhinn;
as í, a bharr craobhchas ar cceirdne,
shaorfas a n-am t'fheirge inn.

33. D'iarraidh do shíth shirid Gaoidhil
ní guth dhamhsa dol am ruaig;
ní chluinim flaith, a ghríobh Ghabhráin,
leis nach maith síodh d'fhagháil uaid.

34. Niall mhac Eachach ór fhás tusa,
ní tearc rí don fhréimh dá bhfuil;
léir ar do rian tar na ríoghaibh
Niall féin as dá fhíorfhuil t'fhuil.

35. A-tá meanma mhaicne airdríogh
ionnad, a Ruaidhrí, a rosg glas;
méin Néill Naoighiallaigh ad nuabhois,
saoirghiallaidh Néill fhuaruis as.

36. Cá mac ríogh do ríoghaibh Éireann
badh inghill riot—ní réim mion—
ar dháil mbuar nó each nó éideadh
nó ar bhuain chreach ar éigean d'fhior.

37. Nó ar léim laoch a laithibh deabhtha,
nó ar dhíoth ccuradh do cholg bhriocht,
ar mhéad meanman nó ar mhéad ngníomhradh,
far dearbhadh éd ríoghradh riot.

38. Tú as ullmha d'fhios an tachair,
's as treisi a ngleo, a ghruaidh mar rós,
's as doilghe tubha a n-uair ágha
's as lugha ó bhfuair námha nós.

39. Éra ar dháimh im dhuasaibh móra
ní meinic leat—laomhdha an cleas;
ní meince, a shlat Eanaigh, éra
lat ar fearaibh tréana im threas.

40. Ó riar damh, ó léim do laochradh,
ó luach t'each, a earla lag,
le méad do chaithmhe ar crodh Banbha,
caithfe cor na faghla a bhfad.

41. Mian led mhuinntir, a mheic Aodha,
iomghuin díochra, deargadh reann,
deabhaidh dian re fearaibh faghla,
mian le Fearaibh calma Ceall.

42. T'fhian, a Ruaidhrí na ruag saidhbhir,
seachna an áigh ní headh do-niad ;
do sheachna Fhear cCeall a ccliathaigh
dream as eadh ro fhiafraigh iad.

43. Do dhruim Uisnigh is eadh bhearuid
buaidh an aonuigh, ni holc leam ;
bídh ód dheabhaidh san uair óla
buaidh ag Fearaibh cródha Ceall.

44. A-táid ortsa, a fhéinnidh Teamhra,
na trí buadha as-bert an draoi ;
fuarus a n-uair fheadhma d'fhaicsin
buaidh ndealbha is ghaisgidh is ghnaoi.

45. Do bhí, a Ruaidhrí na ruag ccródha,
cuid 'na dhénamh dhuitsi féin
nó no as cara an saor ler snoigheadh
do thaobh tana roigheal réidh.

46. Do rosg gorm do ghrádhaigh inne,
t'aigheadh dearg is do dhéad gheal,
an grádh ní hiongnadh 'na anbhuain
do chrádh fhionnbhan bhanshluaigh Bhreagh.

47. Geall na deirge ag dath do ghruaidhi,
geall na gile ag gné do thaoibh ;
fa thoil meanman do mhná táidhe
a-tá dealramh t'áille is t'aoibh.

48. A Ruaidhrí Í Mhaoil-mhuaidh mheanmnaigh,
mé ar iocht 's ar ionchaibh Fhear cCeall ;
do mhóid ná caith í gan fholaidh
ná bí, a fhlaith Codhuil, im cheann.

Translation

1. Fix on thy peace-terms with me, O Ruaidhrí, so that there be nothing in them to alarm me ; good is an agreement made without anger or fault ; let us make a firm peace.

2. Let us, O Prince of the Bóinn, make a perfect peace which may never end ; may a peace be made by me which I shall never break ; may it be without end or ceasing.

3. Let it not be thy doing, O son of Aodh, that I be kept in the province of Tál's race ; before I leave my own country for thee make some advance towards me, and make closer our mutual relations.

4. The firm peace which my race (once) enjoyed—let the two of us now bind it firm as no two men ever bound a peace before ; if it be in the future as it has been in the past it will be the firmest peace ever made.

5. Why should I go to the Plain of Midhe among my folk if thou art going to oppose me ? If thou, O Lord of Line, be on my side I will go and abide in that Plain of Midhe.

6. O young Prince of Almha, O joyous-faced hero who never shirkest fight, if thou art angry with Í Dhálaigh I will, owing to that anger, stay with Brian's fair-haired race.

7. Thou art set on nursing thy anger against my folk, I am set on scorching thy blushing cheeks ; 'twere better for us to help each other ; let thy anger abate, O Prince of Éile.

8. Í Mhaolmhuaidh and Í Dhálaigh used not to be foes ; they are of the same stock, of the same flesh and blood ; they are both of Niall's blood and of Eoghan's.

9. Though, O noble-faced hero, thou and I bear different names, we have the same family-story ; there is no line across that story back to Niall, O fair and curly-haired Lord of Gaol.

10. Small my share in causing thy anger, close my kinship with thee, O Prince of Liag ; wilt thou let my folk be attacked, or wilt thou abandon them so as to please one man ?

11. O Ruaidhrí, Lord of our troop, if it be against a single man of us that thou bringest thy charges the result is that, in a numerous body of men, a single man will have caused two parties in them (?).

12. 'Twas a chance word in drinking-hall conveying some imaginary insult which may have made thee frown ; if drink has made me utter that word—well, it has done thee little harm !

13. O son of Aodh, a eulogy of thee, not a money-payment, is the right atonement for a word of satire ; if that poem (of mine) bring me any punishment this punishment will bring shame on thee as well as on me.

14. O generous-faced Prince of the Bóinn, if I were seeking to accuse thee (?) why should I attribute to thee a share in a crime which I would not have committed—for commit I did not.

15. In no word spoken by me has there been found any reason for the wrath of Ruaidhrí, that blue-eyed prince ; that any man should hold me responsible for others' words would be a deceit and a burden (on his conscience).

16. Let me never have the feeling that there is any spite lying hidden behind thy fair words, O Hero of Cé, or behind the bright beauty of thy young face, for I can recognise anger when I see it.

17. Let thy affable face smile on me ; let the words of thy red lips be gentle ; give ear to the poems addressed to thee, O Prince of Eine ; pour forth thy wrath on others.

18. I know a story likely to check thy wrath—a story worth the telling—the story, the true story, of the Maola Midhe.

19. In the Battle of Gáireach, O Prince of Mis, the anger of Fearghus (mac Róigh) was growing hot against his own race (i.e. the Ulaidh), till a trick was invented to deceive him ; he did not like to be angry with his race or to make peace with it.

20. Cú Chuluinn's trick for keeping Fearghus away from the Fian of Ulaidh was, O Hero of Liag, a deceitful appearance of fighting them which he invented, and thus stopped Fearghus' anger from destroying them.

21. Cú Chuluinn's advice which was intended to check Fearghus's anger was, O Hero of Cró, that he should wreak that anger on the hills ; ye see how it was a trick against him.

22. The carving of those three hills beside Fearghus gave them the name Maola Midhe ; it was a mighty achievement and saved the races of Line.

23. Thus did Fearghus divert the dread anger which (even the slaughter of) kings would not have sated ; I have given thee now, O bright-sworded Prince of the House of the Three, the origin of the name Maola Midhe.

24. 'Twas Fearghus' love for the Ulaidh which averted their destruction by his fierce anger ; I have now shown thee clearly, O Prince of Liag, what saved them from Fearghus.

25. Do thou act likewise and spare my race, I implore thee, O Maolmhuaidh, thou unthwarted hero ; check thy harsh feelings, O Soldier of the Muaidh, and thus avert from us thy anger.

26. Thy terrible vanguard with its coloured shields—march it past us and against our foes ; make it, O Prince of Éile, turn with thee against the choice troops of the Goill of Laighin.

27. O Maolmhuaidh of undimmed glory, lead thy raiders to the West against East Mumha ; marching Eastwards, spare not the coloured surface of Banbha ; in its very centre thou art.

28. Give a day to attacking Teamhair, spend a day's fight in attacking Colt, and, though thou hast on hand as many fights as thou canst manage, put in another day against Almha.

29. The fair surface of thy homeland, O curly-headed hero, Prince of Codhal, is in the centre of Éire ; to attack from it either half of Banbha is equally easy.

30. Conn's Half, Mogh's Half—if, O son of Aodh, thou wouldst attack their strong places 'twere little use for either of them to defend itself against thee, O Prince of Banbha.

31. The Goill who are set on attacking thy native land—wreak thy vengeance on them ; attacks on them are more advantageous—for (thus) the best *creachs* in Fódla are within thy reach—than to be impeaching us.

32. This is the reason why I should weave rimes to thee, O fair-haired hero : it will save me in the hour of thy anger, O curly-headed master of my (fellow-)craftsmen.

33. The Gaoidhil strive for peace with thee ; if I rush after it I am not to be blamed ; I have heard, O Griffin of Gabhrán, of no prince who does not wish to be at peace with thee.

34. Many are the princes of the stock of Niall son of Eochaidh, thy ancestor ; from the way thou soarest above other princes 'tis clear that thy blood comes from his genuine blood.

35. O blue-eyed Ruaidhrí, thou hast the spirit of the high-kings' race ; O fresh-handed prince, in thee is the character of Niall Naoighiallach ; hence thou hast in thy power Niall's noble hostages.

36. What prince of all those in Éire can compare with thee—no low standard !—in bestowal of cattle or steeds or clothes or in the forceful taking of *creachs* from other heroes ?

37. Or in attacking warriors on battle-day, or in slaying heroes with magic sword, or in greatness of spirit, or in number of martial deeds making kings jealous of thee ?

38. Thou art most ready ever for fight, most vigorous in conflict, O rosy-cheeked hero, hardest to overcome on day of slaughter, least likely to let foes triumph.

39. Rarely dost thou refuse poets great rewards—a splendid trait in thee ! Just as rarely, O Wand of Eanach, dost thou shrink from fights with heroes.

40. O wavy-haired prince, it is by maintaining poets, attacking warriors, buying valuable steeds, and by all thou goest through to acquire the wealth of Banbha, that thou keepest all raids far from thee.

41. O son of Aodh, the desire of thy folk, the desire of the valiant Fir Cheall, is fierce slaughter, reddening of spears, stout struggle against raiders.

42. O Ruaidhrí of the long raids, thy troops shun no fighting ; the desire of any folk not to attack Fir Cheall makes them the folk whom Ruaidhrí feels he must seek after (in raids) !

43. Owing to Uisneach they have—I delight to assert it—the best fair in the world ; owing to thy martial words at banquet-time the valiant Fir Cheall excell (in combat).

44. O Warrior of Teamhair, thou hast the three excellences of which the druid spoke ; when watching thy deeds of gallantry, I have noted thy excellence in beauty and valour and glory.

45. O Ruaidhrí of the valiant charges, thou thyself must have had some share in forming thy tender bright smooth body, or else He who formed it must have been a friend of thine.

46. I have ever loved thy blue eye and blushing face and bright teeth ; no wonder that love should be a disturbing force, wounding the fair ladies of the womanfolk of Breagha.

47. Supreme is thy cheek's colour for redness, thy body for whiteness ; the charm of thy beauty and grace please the heart of thy lady-love.

48. O Ruaidhrí, O high-spirited O Maolmhuaidh, I throw myself on the mercy and honour of the Fir Cheall ; reserve thy anger for sinfulness ; be not opposed to me, O Prince of Codhal.

Textual Notes

MS. : 23 D 14, p. 47 except for the following :—1*c. vel* clingean. 1*d. Leg.* dai. ? 2*b.* bia *vel* raibh *c.* síth *d. Leg.* foirceann ? 3*a.* mic 4*a.* tsíth *d.* síoth ; bu. 5*c.* midhe 6*c.* –faidh 8*d.* is do fhuil 11*c.* badh ; daicme *d.* sin maicne 12*d.* siphsi 13*a.* mhic 15*c.* ere *d.* ele 16*a.* misi *b.* cé 19*a.* –gais dfás *b.* ghécc mis *c.* a fhlaith. 20*a. Leg.* Chú ? 21*c.* fea. 22*c.* tucc 23*c.* –phar 26*c.* éle 27*c. Leg.* –clár ? 29*b.* cass *c.* codh. *d.* ass 30*a.* mic *d.* ba. 31*c.* mea. fa. *d.* –rba 32*d.* ind 33*b. Leg.* da. ? 34*a.* mac –thach 35*d.* fua. 36*a.* rígh *d.* –gin 37*a.* –phtha *b.* díth cu. ; brio. 38*c.* tumha 39*a.* –aiph *b.* min. ; –mdha 41*a.* mhic *c.* dhi. 43*c.* bí 44*b.* –beart 46*a.* .i. (*overlined.*)

IRELAND'S LINKS WITH COMPOSTELLA

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

SPAIN, so intimately associated in various ways with Ireland through several centuries, has few places that call up so many Irish memories as Compostella (Santiago de Compostella) in Galicia. With a picturesque setting amidst its circle of hills, it was in the middle ages one of the great pilgrimage centres of western Christendom. A romantic tradition attributes its musical-sounding name to the place, *campus stellae*, where the city rose up in the ninth century. The tradition tells that Theodomis, bishop of Iria, guided by a star, journeyed to the spot and, discovering there the long-lost relics of Saint James the Apostle, made it the most famous shrine in Europe. To it during the succeeding centuries came the faithful, rich and poor, prince and peasant, merchant and beggar, from distant nations. In their pilgrims' dress—loose frock or long smock with belt and wallet, low-crowned, broad-rimmed hat, staff and sandal shoon—they travelled together on foot in companies, the highways resounding with their hymns and prayers. Passing across southern France, they crossed the Spanish frontier over a high mountain road to Roncevalles with its welcoming hospice; and then from Puenta la Reina near-by the road led westwards to Compostella in the last stage of a long and fatiguing journey. A perilous journey too, for they were not infrequently attacked by lawless bands who robbed them without compunction; and for their protection from this danger a Spanish association was formed, which became the foundation of the Military Order of Santiago, one of the Four Orders of Chivalry of Spain.[1].

I

The thirteenth century marks the earliest recorded association of Ireland with Compostella.[2] In the year 1210 Archbishop Henry of Dublin issued a decree to establish a hospital for pilgrims preparing to go to the city of Saint James at Compostella. A contemporary record[3] gives some details regarding it as follows: "For the benefit of those whose departure for Compostella might be delayed by adverse weather a hospital was erected in Dublin on the sea shore at the Steyn, where they might find bed and

[1] The lists of the knights of the Military Order of Santiago show a considerable number of members of exiled Irish families in Spain—O'Neills, O'Reillys, O'Sullivans, O'Donnells, O'Driscolls, O'Farrells, O'Connors, O'Mahonys, Murphys, Nugents, Lacys, O'Kindelans, &c.

[2] There is an old unauthenticated tradition that the first members of the Franciscan Order to appear in Ireland came from Compostella in the year 1214. Records of the Order show, however, that the earliest Franciscan convent was founded by Maurice Fitz-Gerald at Youghal in 1231.

[3] *Reg. Prior. Omm. S.S.* p. 10 (Butler).

board until they could sail. They were to be attended by ten chaplains, who were to wear black cloaks with a white cross on the breast, and this rest house was to be endowed with part of the revenues of the suppressed diocese of Glendalough." In 1216 Pope Innocent III. confirmed the union of the sees of Dublin and Glendalough on condition that with part of the revenues of the see of Glendalough a hospice should be erected near the priory of All Hallows beside the Steyn.[4]

In the succeeding centuries down to the Reformation, various Irish annals contain records of the pilgrimages to Compostella made by notable Irish chiefs of different parts of Ireland. The *Annals of Lough Ce* tell that in the year 1428 Aedh, son of Philip MagUidhir, died at Ceann-Saile on his journey home from the Rock of Saint James and was interred at Corcach " after the triumph of unction and penance." The *Annals of Ulster* describe the same event with slightly more detail : " 1428. Aedh, son of Philip MagUidhir, went on his pilgrimage to the city of Saint James ; to wit, the son of a sub-king that was best of hospitality in his own time and that was most spoken of in Ireland. And he died this year after cleansing of his sins in the city of Saint James. And the night that he came to land in Ireland he died in Kinsale with victory of penance on August 11." In the next generation the *Four Masters* write that another Maguire, Thomas Og of the same great house of Fermanagh, " the most charitable and pious and hospitable man of his day, the protector of his country against extern tribes, the founder of monasteries and churches and the maker of chalices, a man who had been once at Rome and twice at the city of Saint James on his pilgrimage, died and was interred in the monastery of Cavan, which he had selected as his burial place." The *Annals of Ulster*, too, sing his requiem : " MagUidhir died this year (1480), a man of greatest charity and piety and hospitality that was in his own time, and a man that made churches and monasteries and Mass chalices and who died with the victory of penance."

In 1445 the *Four Masters* record the pilgrimage of an illustrious Irish-woman, Margaret O'Carroll of Ely, who was renowned as the generous supporter of native culture in the days of the Gaelic renaissance in the fifteenth century : " Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll, Lord of Ely (patron of all the learned men of Ireland), wife of Calvagh O'Connor Faly, Lord of Offaly. In 1445 she with a company of patriots, MacGeoghegan and others, hardened by long fighting against the English, went on pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella." For this same year it is recorded that several chiefs of the Irish of Ireland, with many noble and ignoble persons,

[4] The Steyn was situated at the spot where the Crampton monument stands, while close by at what is now Burgh Quay the boats left that carried the pilgrims on the first stage of their journey.

The earliest record of a personal pilgrimage which I have met was at this time. In 1222 Richard de Burgo, Justiciar of Ireland, got letters of protection for his pilgrimage to Saint James's shrine. (*Pat. Rolls* 6 *Hen* III.)

went to the city of Saint James, while seven years later Margaret O'Carroll's husband, Calvagh, " defender of his country for sixty years", set out on the same journey. In 1472 Fineen O'Driscoll Mor, lord of Baltimore, died after returning from Compostella; his son Tadhg too, after performing the same pilgrimage, died penitently before the end of a month after his father's death. In the same year the Corporation of Waterford passed an act enabling the mayor and officials to leave the city, either to parley with the Irish enemy or English rebels or in time of pestilence or to go to Saint James's in Spain. A few years later the same body permitted James Rice the mayor to go there " according to a vow made before he took office." And finally the *Four Masters* chronicle the tragic fate of a Cork chieftain on his way home from Spain in 1507: " The Barry Roe went on a pilgrimage to Spain attended by many of the chiefs of his people; and after having performed their pilgrimage they went into a ship to return, and their death or their living has not been known ever since. Upon the pilgrimage aforesaid along with The Barry (An Barraigh) was drowned Donnell, the son of Tiege, son of Gilla-Michíl O'Fiaich, qualified by his knowledge of Latin and poetry to become chief professor of history for Ireland and Scotland."

II

The Irish chiefs and merchants who went to Compostella frequently combined business with their pilgrimage. The great annual Fair of Saint James in that city was specially patronised by them, and these visits contributed materially to the establishment of close commercial relationships between their country and Spain. That relationship during the Middle Ages and on to the seventeenth century was extensive. While Irish merchants met at Compostella traders from all parts of Spain, the merchants of the latter country on the other hand came and went to and from Ireland. " The Irish chiefs," writes Mrs. Green, " were used to make the pilgrimage to Compostella two or three times, and commerce followed the road of pilgrimage and intercourse."[5] Frequent references to this intercourse are found in English State Papers. Complaints were made especially of the business carried on between Irish rebels and the Spanish fishing fleets, which paid no tax or duty to the royal coffers of England. All round the Munster and Connacht coasts it was reported that the Spaniards had the entire trade in fishing and the buying of hides and that they supplied the natives with salt, iron, guns and powder. One result was that, during and after the Middle Ages, Spanish coin was practically the only currency of Ireland—" the Spanish gold and silver is the coin that most aboundeth (in Ireland) and is chiefly concerned in that nation, especially Connaught

[5] *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing.* Mrs. Green further writes that " from Saint James's Fair at Compostella, centre of Galway trade, merchants of Ireland spread over Spain and Portugal."

and Munster." (Cal. of State Papers, Eliz. 1600–01). Another result was the Spanish influences of various kinds on seaports like Dublin, Galway, Drogheda, Dingle, Waterford, Limerick, etc. As early as the twelfth century, during the episcopacy of Saint Laurence O'Toole, a church dedicated to Saint James was erected near Kilmainham. The " Calendar of the Records of Dublin " tells too of the great fair of Saint James in the Irish capital, to which came Spanish merchants and traders ; and in the church of Old Townsend Street beside the Steyn, where the hospital for pilgrims was erected, a number of Spaniards were baptised and married. At Galway James Lynch FitzStephen, mayor of the city, built at his own expense the Chapel of Saint James in 1510—a few years previously his wife Margaret had performed the pilgrimage to Compostella. At Drogheda the Hospital of Saint James, which lay outside Saint James's Gate, was founded as early as the thirteenth century.[6] And at Dingle, with its houses of Spanish architecture—stone balcony windows, marble door and window frames—merchants from Spain built in the sixteenth century the old chapel dedicated to the patron saint of Compostella ; while at Limerick, Waterford and other towns similar dedicatory chapels show how widespread the fame and cult of Saint James were throughout Ireland.

III

Apart from its pilgrim and commercial associations, Compostella evokes other and more appealing Irish memories. Spain has the distinction of being the first continental country to establish Irish colleges for the education of Irishmen abroad. The Elizabethan religious and political persecutions at home, continued into the reign of James I, compelled numbers of them to seek that education abroad. Some settled at Compostella, and in 1605 an Irish college was established there. Philip the Third of Spain, who encouraged the enterprise, endowed it with a thousand crowns annually, while the prelates and nobles of Galicia guaranteed three hundred crowns. The college was placed under the control of Irish members of the Jesuit Order, and its first three professors were Thomas White, William White and Richard Conway—three distinguished priests who deserve remembrance for their zealous labours in dark days when they founded Irish colleges in various cities of Spain. In its earlier years the college catered both for lay and clerical students, the former being generally the sons of Irish chiefs and noblemen. The clerical students spent at Compostella the first three years of their ecclesiastical course, which they finished at Salamanca. This arrangement continued till the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Spain in 1762 when the institution at Compostella ceased to exist, its functions being transferred to that at Salamanca.

[6] For the year 1562 there is a record in the *Carew MSS.* of a " licence to the Mayor of Drogheda to go on pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella."

While the Irish College at Compostella thus served as a seminary for the training of priests for Ireland, it served also for some time, as has been mentioned, as an educational establishment for laymen. Among the notable young Irishmen educated there was Philip O'Sullivan Beare. Immediately after the disaster at Kinsale in 1602 he left Ireland for Compostella as a boy with his cousin Daniel, the eldest son of Donal O'Sullivan Beare, the hero of Dunboy. " There (in Compostella)," he writes, " I learned grammar and humanities and skill in Latin from Patrick Sinnot (Patric Oig Sinot), one of my own countrymen, and philosophy from Roderic Vendanna, a Spaniard of keenest intellect . . . " Among his other fellow-students were " the two sons of Oliver Hussey of Kerry," who himself was just then, with certain Irish exiled chiefs, residing at the house of the Count Caracena, a Spanish nobleman of strong Irish sympathies (*Cal. S. P. Eliz.* 1601–03). Besides the Husseys, there were among the students of the Irish college at Compostella at this time Thadeus O'Driscoll, son to the Lord of Castlehaven ; Daniel O'Driscoll, son to the Lord of Baltimore and Thomas Geraldine FitzGerald, son to the Knight of Glin. All of them became soldiers in the Spanish army, while Philip O'Sullivan Beare received a commission in the navy and, in the interval of his official duties, wrote his *History of Ireland*. Another son of an Irish chief Dominick Collins (O'Coileán), who after a distinguished record as an officer in the French and Spanish armies abandoned his military career to join the Jesuit Order as a lay brother in 1598. Bidding farewell to his brother officers and attended by some friends, he proceeded to Compostella where he entered the Irish college. Three years later he accompanied the Spanish expedition to Kinsale, where he was captured and executed. Contemporary with these was another notable young Irishman who was received with honour on his visit to the city of Saint James. This was Henry O'Neill, son of the Earl of Tyrone, who a few years later achieved high distinction as commander of an Irish regiment in the Spanish Netherlands. In May 1600, while Henry was still a boy, the archbishop of Compostella wrote to Philip III : " In accordance with the royal decree that I should welcome any person sent from Ireland by F. Mateo de Oviedo to Spain, I have received in Santiago Henry, son of the Earl of Tyrone, who comes accompanied by Captain de la Cerda (Spanish agent in Ireland). I have welcomed them spiritually by confession, absolution and Mass, in which they showed themselves truly Catholic ; and corporally to the best of my ability."

Among the large number of young Irishmen who began their ecclesiastical course at Compostella was Peter O'Neachtain, son of Tadhg O'Neachtain, the notable Irish poet. In 1728 at the height of the Penal regime he left Dublin secretly to join the Jesuit Order in Spain. After much hardship, due to stormy weather at sea, he reached the city of Saint James. His father wrote a long poem in Irish describing the young

traveller's journey to " San Iago na n-órd n'ionmhuin " and his reception at the " airdscoil ilsearcach Sheamais "—and concluding with a prayer for his safe return " lán eolais."[7]

During its existence of one hundred and fifty years the college at Compostella, like some of the other Irish seminaries in Spain, underwent many vicissitudes at times despite generous benefactors. Thus a Vatican report on the colleges of Spain generally in the year 1634 states[8] :—

> There are seven (Irish) seminaries in Spain—Salamanca, Lisbon, Compostella, Seville, Madrid, Alcalá and Valentia. The first four are under Jesuit control, the other three are under secular control. The four have sufficient rents, many constant benefactors, and many candidates. The Spanish Jesuits rule Lisbon as they formerly did Salamanca and Seville when everything collapsed. Lisbon, while under the Irish, supported forty students—now there are only eight or ten. Salamanca and Compostella are nearly empty for the past three years for the same reason —there is no procurator in the Royal Court to obtain the customary pension and have it renewed every seven years.
>
> Compostella began more than thirty years ago. It had 1,000 crowns from the King, 300 more from the prelates and nobles of Galicia during Richard Conway's time. It had large and beautiful buildings erected at their own cost for about 8,000 crowns. It supported 12 to 16 students—now it has not one . . .

IV

The college at Compostella was for a century and a half not only a seminary for the ecclesiastical education of young men for missionary work at home in Ireland, but was also a refuge for many of the outlawed priests and prelates of various Irish dioceses. Thomas Stronge, bishop of Ossory, who was consecrated at Rome in 1582, was anxious to proceed at once to Ireland, but hesitated to do so on account of the state of the country. The Desmond rebellion had left an aftermath of terror and persecution. In 1583, however, he landed in disguise on the Munster coast under the assumed name of Philip FitzThomas. During the few months that he resided in his diocese he lived an outlawed life and eventually was forced to emigrate. He proceeded to Compostella, where he became auxiliary of the archbishop and lived there up to the time of his death twenty years later. He was buried in the cloister of the cathedral church, dedicated to Saint James, under a marble monument with the escutcheon of his family carved on it.[9] A few years ago the Diary of a priest belonging to the archdiocese of Santiago two hundred and fifty years ago was discovered in an old country presbytery near Compostella. Dealing with contemporary events it records the coming to the town of Rianjo of a bishop from Ireland in the year 1586. He is described as a man of about forty-five years old,

[7] This poem is published in full in *Eigse* (Summer 1939) with very interesting notes by Tomas O Cleirigh.

[8] *Propaganda archives, College e Irische*—Vol. 12 fol. 185.

[9] In *Hibernia Dominicana* he is described as follows : " Thomas Strongus, episcopus Ossoriensis, Archiepiscopi Compostellani Suffraganeus, ibidem mortuus est 1601."

of good features and extremely pious, who carried out episcopal duties in Compostella on account of the illness of the archbishop. His name, it is added, was Don Thomas who had been forced to leave Ireland through fear of the Lutherans.

Half a century later Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, exiled during the Cromwellian period, died in 1654 in the city of Saint James where his body was placed in a vault of the cathedral. In 1616 Dr. Cornelius Ryan, Franciscan bishop of Killaloe, died there—he was the devoted friend of James Fitzmaurice when the great Geraldine was seeking Spanish aid for his enslaved country. Within the city's walls two bishops of Ferns found a haven from persecutions at home—Nicholas French and Nicholas Sweetman. Of the former a contemporary writes : " After many wanderings he at last found a home with the archbishop of Compostella, who received him in a manner worthy of his fame." And Dr. Sweetman, who had been a student there, spent six years of exile in the pilgrim city where, by special permission from Rome, he acted as auxiliary to its archbishop.

Round the visit of an Irish prince to Santiago de Compostella are interwoven tragic memories. When the Irish cause was broken at Kinsale in 1601, Red Hugh O'Donnell sailed away to seek fresh aid in Spain. In that country he was nobly received by Count Caracena, who invited him to lodge at his house, but he " being Sea sicke, in good manner refused his curtesie." After a few days he set out for Compostella, accompanied by the Count and many captains and gentlemen of quality. At the city of Saint James he was received with magnificence by the prelates, citizens and religious persons, and his lodging was made ready for him at the Benedictine House of Saint Martin. But he first visited the archbishop, who instantly prayed him to lodge in his house. Next day the archbishop celebrated Mass with pontifical solemnity, administered Holy Communion to O'Donnell, after which he feasted him at his house. O'Donnell then set out for the King's palace at Simancas, where again he was nobly received. But he did not get the help for which he sought. He died soon afterwards from poison administered by an English secret agent, and he was buried with pomp and princely honours in the Franciscan monastery of Valladolid.

RICHARD HAYES

THE CHURCH IN HAWAII

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

IF to France, represented by the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts —sometimes called the Picpus Fathers—must be primarily accorded the honour of establishing the Faith in Hawaii, Ireland too has had her share in that achievement. From Father Patrick Short, one of the pioneers who landed in the islands a hundred and twenty years ago, to the Dublin-born priest who is to-day in charge of the leper settlement at Molokai, Irishmen have played no small part in the development of the Church.

I

The Hawaiian Islands, only eight of which are inhabited, stretch in a 1,500-mile chain from northwest to southeast, and are of volcanic origin. Two thousand miles from San Francisco and three-and-a-half thousand from Japan, they possess a delightful climate, a luxuriant vegetation, and in modern times a position of great strategic importance.

It has been claimed that the Spanish visited Hawaii in the sixteenth century when two of Alvaro de Saavedra's vessels were wrecked there, and a Spaniard, Juan Gaetano, is said to have built a church on one of the islands. Certainly they are marked in their correct latitude on seventeenth-century English charts, which were based apparently on Spanish maps, and it is probable that they were well known to the buccaneers who roved the South Seas in the eighteenth century. Their official discoverer, however, was Cook who landed there in 1778. He named them Sandwich Islands in honour of Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, who had sent him on this third voyage to the Pacific. It was to prove his last. Revisiting Hawaii the following year he met his death in a fight between his sailors and the natives.

In the fifty years between Cook's death and the coming of the missionaries there was increasingly frequent contact between the inhabitants of the islands and American and European traders, for whom Hawaii became a port of call in their journeys between China and North America. Some of these traders settled in the islands, where they gained considerable influence in administrative matters. In 1792 Vancouver assisted in the building of a ship of European design, the first of a fleet with which the King of Hawaii subjugated the whole group and proclaimed himself Kamehameha I of the Islands.

The original inhabitants of the archipeligo were Polynesians, the most intrepid of the great navigators who sailed eastward across the Pacific in the early centuries. They came to Hawaii by way of Tahiti and settled there about the middle of the tenth century. They were a handsome, well-built, brown-skinned people, skilled in fishing and sailing, intelligent

and athletic. Until the advent of the missionaries they had no written language, but handed down their history by word of mouth in songs and chants. They had their major and minor gods, each with his own temple, priesthood and appropriate sacrifices and ritual, but most authorities deny —what has been stated—that they were ever cannibals.

The presence of the white man, with his contempt for native gods and his apparent immunity from the consequences of breaking the tabu, one of the most important parts of their religion, began to have an effect upon the islanders. By the end of the eighteenth century they had voluntarily abandoned many of their idolatrous practices, and when Kamehameha I died in 1819 one of the first acts of his successor was to abolish the tabu. In that same year a French frigate visited the islands and two of the native chiefs were, at their urgent desire, baptised by the Catholic chaplain on board. The captain promised to send a missionary to them, but before this promise could be fulfilled a Methodist mission from Boston was established in Hawaii.

II

The missionaries began their labours in circumstances that could hardly have been more favourable. Assured of the powerful support of the Queen Mother and welcomed with joy by a people who, having abandoned their native religion, were eager to embrace Christianity, the success of the mission seemed certain. " They found the land already self-purged of its old and bloody faith," Robert Louis Stevenson was to write years later in his famous letter on Father Damien ; " they were embraced almost on their arrival with enthusiasm. What troubles they had came more from whites than from Hawaiians, and to them they stood (in a rough figure) in the shoes of God." And at first all went well. The natives attended Methodist services and flocked to Methodist schools in great numbers. But a light-hearted, laughter-loving, sociable people such as were the Polynesians could not easily assimilate a puritanical religion that frowned on legitimate pleasures and imposed laws and restrictions entirely foreign to the Hawaiian nature. Even a Protestant journal had to admit that " the missionaries showed very little wisdom in dealing with these people. So lacking were they in judgment and in knowledge of the human heart that they permitted their zeal to carry them to all lengths." Severe punishments were inflicted for the slightest infringement of the rules laid down by the Methodists, who began to take an increasingly active part in political affairs. Gradually the first ardour of the natives gave way to indifference or hostility, and many of them returned to their own gods rather than accept a religion so alien to their ideas.

Such was the situation on the arrival in 1827 of the Picpus Fathers, charged by Leo XII to establish a mission in Hawaii. These first missionaries numbered five : three priests, Fathers Alexis Bachelot, Prefect

Apostolic, Abraham Armand, and Patrick Short, and two Brothers. The first Mass was said by Father Bachelot in a grass hut not far from the site of the present Cathedral of Our Lady of Grace in Honolulu. While their contemporaries in the Pacific mission field were contending with head-hunters and cannibals, the Prefect Apostolic and his companions found their fiercest opponents in the Methodists who were already a power in the islands. The presence of Catholic missionaries was hotly resented, and but for the protection of Boki, one of the chiefs baptised on board the French frigate in 1819, the newcomers would have been summarily ejected. Boki was now Regent to the boy king Kamehameha III, whose father, Kamehameha II, had died of measles while on a visit to the English Court in 1824. Having gained a foothold, however precarious, the Picpus Fathers began to make converts almost at once. The natives were impressed by the austerity of their lives, their complete detachment from politics, and their scrupulous regard for native customs not at variance with Catholic doctrine. But in 1830 Boki perished at sea in an expedition to the New Hebrides and the Queen Mother assumed the Regency. A strong supporter of the Methodists, she made a law ordering Hawaiians of all ages to attend Methodist services and schools. Those who refused to do so were threatened with imprisonment or fines.

It was the beginning of an era of persecution that was to last at intervals for almost a decade. But the members of the little Catholic community gave an example of faith and courage worthy of the martyrs. Refusing to go to the Methodists' churches, they used to come secretly by night to the houses of the Fathers. Realizing at last that persecution only served to strengthen the faith of converts, the Queen and her Government made a determined effort to expel the missionaries. In vain the American and British Consuls protested—the latter on behalf of Father Short, a British subject. Early in 1831 Father Armand went back to France, there to compile a dictionary of Hawaiian words, probably one of the earliest attempts to put the language into writing. Meanwhile the authorities intensified their efforts to get rid of Father Bachelot and his companion. On Christmas Eve they were expelled by force, and after a voyage of over a month, during which they endured much privation, their captors put them ashore on a desolate part of the Californian coast, their only provisions being two bottles of water and a ship's cake. Eventually they reached a Franciscan mission and were given shelter there. So ended the first attempt to establish the Faith in Hawaii.

III

For the next four years the Catholics of the islands endured imprisonment, tortures, fines for their steadfast refusal to abandon their faith. Deprived of their pastors, they found their only support in the two Brothers who were allowed remain and who baptised, instructed, and consoled an

ever-growing community. The death of the Queen Mother in 1832 removed one of their bitterest enemies ; but though the young king, Kamehameha III, was favourably inclined towards the converts and even mitigated some of their sufferings, he was too weak to withstand the pressure of Methodist intrigues, and so the relief was short-lived.

When the renewed persecution was at its height, there appeared on the scene a picturesque personality bearing the good Irish name of Columban Murphy. Born in Dundalk in 1806, professed as a Brother in the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts in 1828, he was sent out in 1834 to the Pacific where he assisted in the conversion of the Gambier Islands. The following year he was secretly ordained by Mgr. Rouchouze, Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Occeania, and went to Hawaii in the guise of an ordinary workman. As a British subject he was given the protection of the British Consul, and for several weeks his identity was not discovered. When it did become known he was allowed to remain, but on such terms that it was deemed inadvisable for the two exiled Fathers to return. Help was urgently needed however, and a year later yet a third Irishman, Father Robert Walsh, arrived in Hawaii. The Government's efforts to banish him would certainly have succeeded but for an opportune visit of Lord Edward Russell, who came to demand justice for all British subjects in the islands. He obtained from the Government an undertaking that His Majesty's subjects should be unmolested for the future, but Father Walsh was forbidden to preach in public. Later the Government tried to evade their obligations, declaring that the undertaking did not apply to Catholic priests. At the same time they renewed their persecution of the converts, for they maintained that they could do what they liked with their own people.

Meanwhile in California Father Bachelot and Father Short were waiting impatiently the word to return. In 1837 that word came. Obeying a direct command from Gregory XVI to the Prefect Apostolic, they once more arrived in the islands. But after only a few months they were again faced with expulsion. Father Short went to Valparaiso, where he worked until his death in 1870. After his departure Father Bachelot fell seriously ill. Word was sent by Father Columban Murphy to the Vicar Apostolic, who thereupon despatched Father Maigret to Hawaii. The latter was not allowed to remain for more than a matter of days and, with Father Bachelot who had recovered from his illness, set out for the Carolines. Before they could reach them, however, the Prefect Apostolic died at sea. He was buried in an island of the Caroline group and a small chapel or oratory was built over his grave. Efforts made in 1906 to locate this tomb were unsuccessful, and the last resting place of the Apostle of Hawaii is now unknown.

After the departure of the missionaries the King, at the instigation of the Methodists, made a law forbidding the practice of the Catholic religion —and persecution broke out with renewed violence. But this continued

ill-treatment of her subjects could no longer be tolerated by France ; and in 1839 a strong protest was made, backed by the arrival of the French frigate *Artemise* under Commandant Laplace. The king was obliged to yield to his demand for entire liberty of the Catholic religion. Converts who were in prison were set free, and all were granted the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Methodists. To commemorate the occasion a High Mass was celebrated by Father Walsh ; he was to spend another thirty years in the islands, dying there in 1869.

IV

Now at last the Church was solidly established, and it seemed humanly certain that its development would be uninterrupted. The Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Rouchouze, visited Hawaii, bringing with him Father Maigret and other Picpus Fathers ; a church was built on ground given by the King, and schools were established to serve the two thousand Catholics in Honolulu and other parts of the island of Oahu. " Since the practice of our religion has been allowed," wrote Father Walsh, " our chapel is always crowded with natives from every part of the islands, particularly from those places where persecution has been most violent." In July 1840, was laid the first stone of the present fine Cathedral of Our Lady of Grace.

Then at this moment of rejoicing came disaster—and this time not from the hands of man. Like his fellow Vicars in the Pacific, Mgr. Rouchouze looked to Europe for the assistance without which his missions could not expand. In 1841 he returned to France to seek that assistance. Detained there much against his will for more than twelve months, he set out on the return journey to his Vicariate in the *Marie Joseph*, a ship that he had purchased for the use of the missions and that was filled with gifts from the Catholics of France and Belgium. With him went twenty-four members of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts : ten priests and fourteen Sisters, the latter designed to establish a school for girls in Hawaii. The vessel, which had encountered bad weather from the start, called at an island off Brazil to bury one of the Sisters who had died on board. From that time nothing more was heard of the *Marie Joseph*. Whether she was lost rounding Cape Horn or encountered a sudden storm in the Pacific was never known : with her urgently needed missionaries and material she disappeared completely.

It was a crushing blow to the entire Vicariate of Eastern Oceania, but especially to the young Church in Hawaii. For a time the development of the mission was seriously affected, for to the insufficient number of missionaries was added the difficulty of getting from one island to another. Nevertheless by the end of 1843 there were twelve thousand Catholics and over a hundred schools in the three principal islands. The Cathedral was finished and solemnly dedicated, and in 1845 the Vicariate of the

Hawaiian Islands was created. Two years later Mgr. Maigret became its first Vicar Apostolic.

King Kamehameha was much less antagonistic to the Catholics than were his predecessors, and he even gave ground for a boys' school of which Father Walsh was made Superior ; yet the Church had to contend with much covert opposition on the part of the Methodists. The granting of teaching certificates was entirely in their hands, with the result that the missionaries had for the most part to add the task of teaching to their other duties. After the King's death in 1854, however, his successor Kamehameha IV. openly declared his esteem for the Vicar Apostolic and acknowledged the benefits bestowed upon the inhabitants of Hawaii by the missionaries. He requested that Sisters be brought to the islands to establish a school for girls, for which he would provide the site, and in 1859 Sisters of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts arrived in Honolulu. When they disembarked they were welcomed by the King and Queen, who in the presence of an immense crowd accompanied them to the Cathedral for the singing of a *Te Deum*. It was only twenty years since liberty to practise their religion had been granted to Catholics, yet a great change had come about in public opinion. We find a Protestant journal, *The Polynesian*, congratulating the rising generation of Hawaiians on the coming of the Sisters to supply a long-felt need in the education of girls.

V

But a new field of apostolate was opening for the missionaries. For many years the native population of Hawaii had been declining. At the end of the eighteenth century pure-blooded Hawaiians numbered 200,000. This figure dropped to 130,000 in 1831, and it was still dropping when about 1850 the dread scourge of leprosy appeared in the islands. So rapid was its spread that in 1865 a law was passed banishing lepers of all classes to the island of Molokai, fifty miles from Honolulu. Here on a narrow tongue of land some three miles long, shut in on one side by the sea and on the other by precipitous cliffs, a leper colony was established ; and here in 1873 came a humble Belgian priest who had been working in the islands for nine years. The story of the Apostle of Molokai is too well known to need repetition ; but when Damien de Veuster stepped ashore that misty May morning he began a work that was not only to benefit the lepers amongst whom he spent the rest of his life, and through them future sufferers from leprosy in all parts of the world, but he was to do an immeasurable service to the Catholic religion. By his heroic labours in surroundings of indescribable horror he gave an example of fraternal charity that was to win world-wide tribute to the Church he so gloriously served.

When after a visit in 1881 to Molokai—a vastly different Molokai to the " hell on earth " that Damien first saw—the Princess Liliuokalani,

Regent for her brother during his absence from Hawaii, bestowed upon Damien the decoration of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua, she paid a similar tribute to the Vicar Apostolic whom she created a Grand Officer of the same Royal Order " as an expression of gratitude and esteem on the part of the King and herself." For Mgr. Maigret it must have been a memorable occasion. Exactly fifty years had passed since the expulsion of the first missionaries in 1831. Persecuted and exiled by one member of the House of Kalakaua, the aged apostle had lived to receive honour and veneration from another and nobler representative of the same House.

While Damien was striving to bring order and decency to a community whose boast was " There is no law at Molokai," his fellow missionaries in the islands were busy adapting themselves to changing conditions. Owing to the increasing dearth of labourers in the sugar industry that had been established in Hawaii since 1835 the Government was encouraging immigration, and from 1874 onwards the population was increased by a flow of Chinese, Japanese, and North Europeans. To the missionaries this meant more work, new races to study, new languages to learn, and a higher standard of education. Extra teachers were needed to staff the newly established schools, and in 1883 the Brothers of Mary, a French Congregation founded in 1817, came from their house in Ohio to take charge of these schools and, in particular, of the College of St. Louis that had just been erected. About the same time came the Franciscan Sisters of Syracuse, N.Y., brought to the islands at the express desire of the Hawaiian Government, following an urgent appeal from the Protestant doctor at Molokai. Destined for the leper colony, they were retained at the Branch Hospital at Honolulu until 1888, when Mother Marianne and three companions embarked for Molokai where Father Damien was anxiously awaiting them. For three years he had been suffering from leprosy ; but he lingered on, reluctant to die until he could see his work more firmly established. He had among others one helper who was destined to spend forty-four years in Molokai, Ira Dutton, soldier and monk—and at the end a simple layman and Damien's most devoted assistant. Then within a few months of each other came Father Wendolin in whose arms Damien was to die the following year, Father Conrady who had been working among the Indians of Oregon, and a Christian Brother from Australia, " a tall auburn-haired giant of an Irishman," Brother James. Lastly in November came the Sisters, whom Damien greeted with a joyful *Nunc Dimittis* : " Now I can die. My work will go on." A few months later he was dead at the age of forty-nine years, sixteen of which had been spent in Molokai.

VI

During the last decade of the nineteenth century a series of crises took place in Hawaii. In 1891 King Kalakaua died without an heir, and his

sister, Princess Liliuokalani, succeeded to the throne. Three years later, following an insurrection, the monarchy was replaced by a republic which lasted until 1898, when the islands were annexed by the U.S.A. and became known as the Territory of Hawaii. The Church was too firmly established to be seriously disturbed by the changes of Government, and the work of expansion went steadily forward among a growing population of mixed races.

In 1927 the centenary of the coming of the first missionaries was fittingly celebrated. The non-Catholic Government offered the use of the old Royal Palace with its magnificent gardens for the Solemn Mass of Thanksgiving, at which Mgr. Alencastre, last Vicar Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands, presided. There was an imposing cortège of tableaux through the streets of Honolulu, each tableau representing a scene from the history of the Church in Hawaii during the preceding hundred years.

Mgr. Alencastre was a son of the islands. A Portuguese from Madeira, he came as a child with his parents to Hawaii and was educated at the College of St. Louis. After his novitiate at Louvain he returned to work in the islands for the rest of his life. Appointed Vicar Apostolic in 1926 he was responsible for a notable development of the mission. The number of missionaries was almost doubled, the first Catholic hospital was established, forty-four new churches were erected and several new Orders introduced in the Vicariate. From 96,000 the number of Catholics increased to 119,000 during his Episcopate, and when he died in 1940 his funeral was the occasion of a demonstration of loyalty and affection in which Catholic and non-Catholics joined with equal fervour.

Hopes that the Hawaiian islands might one day become independent of Propaganda were realized the following year when the Pope created the Diocese of Honolulu—which includes, besides the islands of Hawaii, Palmyra, Fanning, and Christmas. Bishop Sweeney of California was appointed Bishop of the new Diocese and was consecrated in San Francisco in July 1941. He was scarcely two months in residence when his palace in Honolulu was severely damaged by the bombing of Pearl Harbour.

Life in Hawaii during the war was full of difficulties for the newly-established diocese, though it lacked the perils that threatened other Pacific islands. But to-day, under the guidance of Bishop Sweeney, there is a full Catholic life in the islands. The greater number of the priests, Sisters, and Brothers come from the American houses of their respective Orders, which include the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, the Maryknoll Fathers and Sisters, the Franciscan Sisters from Syracuse, N.Y., the Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondolet, and the Congregation of the Brothers of Mary. Approximately one-fourth of the population of 525,000 is Catholic, and between eight and nine thousand pupils attend Catholic schools. There has been marked progress in education; the College of St. Louis, with its fifteen hundred students, is one of the leading educa-

tional institutions. The Picpus Fathers have opened a novitiate at Hauula in which the first novices are two Chinese and a Japanese.

At Molokai the work begun by Father Damien has made rapid progress. Financed by a benevolent Government and controlled by the Board of Health, the lepers' Homes are fully staffed by Nursing Brothers and the Franciscan Sisters. From a thousand in Father Damien's time the number of lepers has dropped to four hundred, most of whom live in small houses scattered through the settlement; some half of them are Catholic. There are always two priests resident in the settlement; at the moment one of them is an Irishman, Father Patrick Logan.

Here are to be found the graves of those who assisted the Apostle of Molokai. Mother Marianne, whose prophecy that none of her Sisters should contract leprosy has been fulfilled to the present day; Father Wendolin, Ira Dutton, and a host of others. But Damien's grave near the pandanus tree, beneath whose shade he spent his first nights at Molokai, is empty. His mortal remains lie in the chapel of the Picpus Fathers at Louvain where they were removed in 1936.

When the first apostle of Hawaii, Father Alexis Bachelot, landed in Oahu in 1827 he brought with him from the gardens of the Tuilleries a handful of seed of a tree hitherto unknown in the islands. As he watched the first shoots sprout and flourish in the fertile soil he used to show them to his converts, saying: "As this small plant will one day become a great forest whose trees will cover every part of Hawaii, so too will your little community of Catholics grow into a strong living Church that will extend even to the furthest of your islands." His words have come true. To-day the wild groves of the kiawe beans are to be seen all over Hawaii, just as schools and churches are to be found there in goodly numbers, testifying to the strength and virility of the Catholic Faith in the islands.

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

CHARLES DICKENS AND THOMAS MOORE

In an article with the above title in the June issue of STUDIES, I assembled the allusions to Moore disclosed by a reading of Dickens's works. Mr. T. W. Hill, the distinguished Dickensian scholar, has kindly supplied me with certain further references, from which the information given below has been prepared.

OFT IN THE STILLY NIGHT. Additional reference.

The Uncommercial Traveller. XVI. Arcadian London. The theme is the emptiness of London in autumn, when society has for the most part left for the country or the seaside. " Soothed by the repose around me, I wander insensibly to considerable distances, and guide myself back by the stars. Thus, I enjoy the contrast of a few partially inhabited and busy spots where all the lights are not fled, where all the garlands are not dead, whence all but I have not departed ". Some of the lines of the second verse of the song are here adapted.

I KNEW BY THE SMOKE THAT SO GRACEFULLY CURLED. Additional reference.

Bleak House, 55. Inspector Bucket, after travelling through the night in pursuit of Lady Dedlock, arrives at Bleak House in company with Esther. " ' Ah ! ' said Mr. Bucket, ' Here we are, and a nice retired place it is. Puts a man in mind of the country-house in the Woodpecker tapping, that was known by the smoke which so gracefully curled. They're early with the kitchen fire, and that denotes good servants ' ".

RICH AND RARE WERE THE GEMS SHE WORE. (" Tá an samhradh ag teacht " : from Bunting).

The Uncommercial Traveller. XVII. The Calais Night-Mail. This sketch deals in the author's jocose and breezy manner with the Channel crossing from Dover to Calais. The weather is bad, but Dickens is not much inconvenienced, " because I am under a curious compulsion to occupy myself with the Irish melodies. ' Rich and rare were the gems she wore ' is the particular melody to which I find myself devoted. I sing it to myself in the most charming manner and with the greatest expression." A description of the discomforts of the passage is interspersed with humorous perversions of the first three verses, till finally : " So strangely goes the time, and on the whole so quickly, that I am bumped, rolled, gurgled, washed and pitched into Calais Harbour before her maiden smile has finally lighted her through the Green Isle, When blest for ever is she who relied, On entering Calais at the top of the tide."

LINES TO THE HON. W. R. SPENCER.

Martin Chuzzlewit, 16. Martin has just landed in New York. After being introduced to Colonel Diver, Jefferson Brick and other " worthies ", he is fortunate to meet an American of a very different type in Mr. Bevan. Dickens comments : " It was perhaps to men like this, his new companion, that a traveller of honoured name, who trod those shores now nearly forty years ago and woke upon that soil, as many have done since, to blots and stains upon its high pretensions, which in the brightness of his distant dreams were lost to view, appealed in these words—

> ' Oh but for such, Columbia's days were done ;
> Rank without ripeness, quickened without sun,
> Crude at the surface, rotten at the core,
> Her fruits would fall before her spring were o'er ! ' "

The quotation is from Moore's Epistle to Spencer, in which the poet is severely critical of the United States.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. WILLIAM PARRY

The Career of an Agent-provocateur

BY LEO HICKS, S.J.

ON March 2, 1585, there was executed in Palace Yard, Westminster, a certain Dr. Parry.[1] He had been arraigned on February 25 of that year, and by his own confession was convicted of a conspiracy against the life of Queen Elizabeth. That there are certain strange features about the case, no historian familiar with the documents would deny; and some have concluded that the Holy See gave to the conspiracy, at least in its earlier form, some sort of approval. The late Father J. H. Pollen, S.J., whilst maintaining that Parry was an agent-provocateur of the English Government—and of that there can be little doubt—inclined to that opinion and blamed the Papal Secretary of State, the Cardinal of Como, for that approval.[2] There are documents, however, which he does not seem to have taken into account—or certainly not sufficiently. To obtain a just appreciation of the case, it will be necessary to trace Parry's career in some detail.

I

According to his own statement, his father was a gentleman of no great means, but of ancient lineage, who had served in the guard of King Henry VIII and had been appointed by him to attend on Princess Mary; whilst his mother claimed kinship with Sir John Conway. These pretensions to noble descent, however, were denied by the Government in the account of him published after his execution. There it is stated that his father had been an ale-house keeper and his mother the daughter of a priest named Conway, but unrelated to the knight of that name. It is impossible to decide which account is the true one. Parry certainly, from his later conduct, inspires no confidence as regards his truthfulness, and his history portrays him as a self-important adventurer, not without a touch of megalomania. On the other hand, implicit faith can by no means be yielded to the official account; for the Government after his death, seeking by every means to depreciate him and blacken his reputation, made more than one false statement and can be proved to have doctored the documents published by them after his execution.[3]

However it be, both accounts agree that he was born at Northop in Flintshire. To judge from his letters, he must have received a fair education; and in 1583 the Scotch Jesuit, Crichton, described him as a man of remarkable and general understanding and possessed of fine qualities, though he was unable to make up his mind how far he was trustworthy.[4]

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

After his schooling he appears to have been employed as an apprentice to a lawyer in Chester, in which capacity he, no doubt, began to acquire his knowledge of law, which enabled him years later in France to obtain a degree in that faculty.[5] In the official account he is said to have run away from his master to seek his fortune in London. Eventually, he obtained a post in the service of the Earl of Pembroke ; and in 1570, after the death of the Earl, he was " sworn her Majesty's servant "—probably being given some minor appointment at Court.[6] He was twice married—largely, it would seem, to enrich himself ; his first wife was a Mrs. Powell, the widowed daughter of Sir William Thomas, and his second was the widow of Richard Heywood, an officer of the Queen's Bench who had considerable wealth. In connection with this latter marriage he engaged in a suit to recover property claimed and appropriated by Heywood's son, as heir to his father.[7] Whatever wealth he acquired by his marriages he soon consumed in " dissolute and wasteful living," though he himself later ascribed his financial difficulties partly to ill-husbandry and partly to his liberality towards his numerous relations.[8] Certainly, from the testimony of John Somers, a clerk of the Privy Council who at one time lived next door to him in Fleet Street his morals were far from being above reproach.[9] It was probably owing to his reduced circumstances and in order to escape his creditors that he retired to the continent, visiting Siena and Rome, and acting as intelligencer for Burghley. He was back in England by May 1577 :[10] but again at the end of 1579 or at the beginning of 1580 he retreated to the continent in haste and apparently without licence from the Government, pressure from his creditors probably being once more the reason for his hurried departure.[11]

Whilst thus in exile, Parry resided chiefly at Paris, continued to correspond with Burghley and acted as his spy. Nine of his letters to the Treasurer from January to the end of July are still extant and leave no doubt as to the role he was playing. His aim was to worm himself into the confidence of the Catholic exiles and report anything of significance. On May 1 he wrote " that he found his credit and favour to be such with the best of the English and Scottish nation in Rouen and Paris—by the hope conceived of his readiness and ability to serve them—that he doubted not in a few months to be well able to discern their deepest practices, if the same be nourished with her Majesty's reasonable charge to be bestowed as occasion should serve in trifling gifts (rather of pleasure than of price) and friendly entertainment."[12] From another of his letters it is evident that for the role he was playing he had both the Queen's warrant and the approval of the Lord Treasurer.[13] It was because of the trust reposed in him by the latter that the English Ambassador at Paris made use of him, approved of his consorting with the Catholic exiles, and even allowed him to send one of his letters in the ambassadorial packet.[14] So far, indeed, did this trust and favour extend that Burghley recommended his nephew,

Anthony Bacon, then resident in Paris, to cultivate Parry's acquaintance, which the astute Welshman turned to good account by borrowing money from the young man. Such acquaintance, however, was not to the mind of the Earl of Leicester, Burghley's rival, who sought to make trouble with the Queen on that account; but the Treasurer was able to satisfy her Majesty that his nephew would " not be shaken either in religion or loyalty by his conversation with Parry."[15]

For the part Parry was acting he seems to have felt some qualms; for he took pains to avoid discovery not only because of the danger which he might incur thereby, but because of the ensuing disgrace. Thus in reply to a letter from Burghley he wrote: " In answering such of mine as contain matter justifiable in reputation, pray write by ordinary means, and for such other letters or instructions (coming from you) as interception may turn to my danger or discredit, that it may please your lordship to be no less careful of me than I find you by your last to be. And though in truth I am taught and do believe that *omnis dolus contra hostes publicos* is good and lawful, yet would I be loth to be seen to run this course. If my simple advices do not (under my name) pass her Majesty's hands and yours, I have my desire."[16]

There is little, indeed, of any value in Parry's letters: but the despatch with which he sent news that might have been of importance to the Government is at times noticeable. Thus he informed Burghley of the arrival of Goldwell, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and his company at Rheims on their way to England from Rome, a fortnight before the news was communicated to the Holy See by the nuncio in France.[17] In his next letter he declared correctly that the Bishop, on hearing " the posts to be laid and his intent discovered," had abandoned the journey.[18] His letters show that he took particular interest in those of the exiles who gave signs of desiring to be reconciled to the English Government, though without prejudice to their religion, such as the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Thomas Copley and the two Ropers. More than once he pleaded for them,[19] and even timorously suggested that it might be good statesmanship to come to terms with them, though he quickly added that " her Majesty's pleasure and Burghley's opinion (as in everything) would be his rule in this matter." [20]

II

Parry's stay abroad on this occasion was comparatively a short one; for he was back in England in August or September 1580.[21] He was, however, soon in difficulties again with his creditors, or at least with one of them named Hugh Hare; and in his exasperation at Hare's treatment of him he apparently had recourse to violence, for which he was duly brought to trial. The indictment charged him with entering by force Hare's chambers in the Inner Temple with the intention of murdering him and robbing him.[22] The result of the trial was that he was declared guilty and

condemned to death ; though if the extant evidence is all that was submitted at the trial, his guilt appears very doubtful.[23] Later, in his confessions he stated that in this action he had been so oppressed by two great men to whom he had of late been beholden that he had never had contented mind since.[24] The death penalty, however, was remitted by the Queen ; but he appears to have remained in the Poultry prison for a year or more. On January 2, 1581, by order of the Lords in Council, he procured ten gentlemen to become surety, each for £100, in full discharge of his debt to Hare, and later he was bound over in two sureties of £1,000 each to keep the peace with him.[25] But this did not result in his being released from prison ; and in his letter to the Council, December 17, 1581, he complained that the agreement had not been kept by Hare, and petitioned the Lords to intervene in justice and equity against a " cunning and shameless usurer in favour of one who had deserved better of his prince and country."[26] This appeal appears to have had no immediate effect ; but in the following June the Council decreed that he should provide surety to the Master of the Rolls for the space of three years not to do by himself or by another any bodily harm to Hugh Hare, the same bond to be continued or discontinued at the pleasure or discretion of the Council.[27]

Shortly after this, having obtained licence to travel abroad for three years, Parry once again retired to the continent. His coming departure was announced in a letter of Nicholas Faunt, Walsingham's Secretary, to Anthony Bacon, August 1, 1582. " M. Philips is at Bruges. M. Parrys your old acquaintance is presently to go over. He will, I take it, abide most at Paris. He hath found good friends in this place."[28] One such friend was Walsingham himself, who recommended him to Sir Henry Cobham, the English ambassador in Paris ;[29] and the mention in Faunt's letter of Philips or Phelippes, an agent of the Government, also suggests what Parry's work on the continent was to be. In fact, he was once more employed in his old occupation of a spy, corresponding regularly with Burghley and with Walsingham, the Secretary of State as well. Nine of his letters to Burghley during this period are extant and six to Walsingham, besides one addressed to both.

Whilst at Paris, Parry was reconciled to the Church, outwardly at least ; for it would seem to have been merely a move to gain more readily the confidence of the Catholic exiles. His conversion, however, did not allay the suspicion in which he was held by some of them. " I came to Paris," he wrote later in his confessions, " where I was reconciled to the Church and was advised to live without scandal, the rather for it was mistrusted by the English Catholics that I had intelligence with the greatest Councillor of England. I stayed not long there but removed to Lyons,[30] where I was also suspected. To put all men out of doubt with me, and for some other cause, I went to Milan ; from whence, as a place of danger, though I found favour there after I had cleared my conscience and justified

myself before the Inquisition, I went to Venice."[31] What his precise purpose was in going to Venice his letters from that city do not reveal; but he had to be cautious, so he reported, as to how and what he wrote, as he was being watched.[32] Of particular interest in view of his later confessions is his statement that there was much talk at Venice of the persecution of Catholics in England and that the *De Persecutione Anglicana*, a small work by Father Robert Persons, S.J., " had raised a barbarous opinion of our cruelty." Blame for this barbarity was ascribed to Huntingdon, Leicester and Walsingham; Burghley himself " formerly in like predicament " being almost forgotten. He added that he could wish " it might please her Majesty to pardon the dismembering and quartering."[33]

Parry's stay at Venice was of short duration. Back in Lyons he gave a glowing report to Burghley of what he had accomplished there. " My great liking," he wrote, " to live in the state of Venice was overcome by the necessity of my departure. Though I have not fully satisfied the expectation held of me, yet have I done my best to serve the Queen's Majesty. If I be not mistaken, I have shaken the foundations of the English Seminary in Rheims and utterly overthrown the credit of the English pensioners in Rome . . . . . Your honourable favour and Mr. Secretary's have overthrown my credit with our countrymen on this side. Yet if I were well warranted and allowed, I would either prevent and discover all Roman and Spanish practices against our state or lose my life in testimony of my loyalty to the Queen's Majesty. . . . . If it please Your Lordship to confer with Mr. Secretary touching my letters herewith sent and advise me, I am ready to do all I shall be able to do and am commanded. Whatsoever I have already spent, I do think well bestowed. But it is neither my poor state nor any trifling allowance that will serve to do that which is to be done, the meanest that is to be followed and courted being a secretary."[34]

III

It was in Venice, however, that Parry first endeavoured to get into touch with the Holy See—for a purpose very different, as will be seen, from that which he suggested later in his confessions. On March 12, 1583 Campeggio the Nuncio in Venice, reported to Como, the Cardinal Secretary of State, that a certain William Parry had been introduced to him by the Jesuits. He had received a good account of him from an English doctor in Venice, but could give His Eminence no detailed information, because Parry had made a point of concealing his purpose from all Englishmen and particularly from the Prior of England, Sir Richard Shelley. He, however, enclosed a letter from Parry to the Cardinal which ran as follows :—

" I, William Parry, an English nobleman, after twelve years in the service of the Queen, was given a licence to travel abroad on secret and important business. Later, after pondering over the task committed to me and having conferred with some confidants of mine, men of judgment and education, I came to the conclusion that

it was both dangerous to me and little to my honour. I have accordingly changed my mind and made a firm resolution to relinquish the project assigned to me and, with determined will, to employ all my strength and industry in the service of the Church and the Catholic Faith. I ask your Eminence, therefore, to be pleased in my name to arrange with His Holiness that I may be in no way hindered from coming to Rome, and that there in secret audience with the Pope I may open my mind to him about matters, a knowledge of which he will receive with great satisfaction. And so by the favour granted me and with due contentment of mind for what I have done, I may return to France, whence I have just come. Offering and promising all my service to His Holiness and also to the afflicted Catholics, about whose state I have determined to speak, I humbly kiss the hand of your Eminence."[35]

To this letter no direct reply was given, but permission to come to Rome was granted.[36] This did not satisfy Parry. Again he told the nuncio that he had matters of the highest importance to communicate to his Holiness and was moved to do so only by zeal for God's honour, but that he wished to be assured that he would be able to leave Rome, as he pleased ; for his retention there would betray his design to the English Government to the utter ruin of all connected with him.[37] Freedom to return, Como replied, was understood in the Papal permission to come to Rome ; but should this not content Parry, the nuncio could assure him on the point by word of mouth in virtue of this present despatch ; for to give any other writing appeared to him impolitic—all the more so, as little hope could be entertained of obtaining anything of value from such gentlemen, who for the most part were spies sent from England.[38] Such verbal assurance, however, on the part of the nuncio did not allay Parry's misgivings, and he left Venice for Lyons, so Campeggio reported, without disclosing his purpose, telling him before his departure that he would inform the nuncio in France of all that he had in mind to discover to his Holiness, as he would be safer there than in Venice.[39]

In one point this report proved premature ; for in his next despatch the nuncio informed Como that Parry, before he left Venice, had made some general statements to Father Palmio, S.J., so that he might communicate them to him. They were as follows : he had served the Queen for fourteen years in affairs of importance,[40] but now moved by zeal as a good Catholic he desired to reveal a design against the Church known only to the Queen, a Lord who was her principal favourite, and himself who was to be its agent. The design was of such importance that ignorance of it would entail great and irreparable ruin for Catholics, but a knowledge of it would enable the Pope not only to counter but to draw advantage from it. After revealing the design to the Pope, he desired to return to France ; but should his Holiness consider his assistance in the affair necessary, he would remain in Rome in close confinement.[41] To the Pope also he left it to decide whether he was to relinquish the Queen's business or continue it whilst keeping the Pope informed. Terrified, however, by the bad treatment to which many Englishmen in Rome had been subjected, he would

not come without a written passport. He had, therefore, arranged with Father Palmio, S.J., that should the Pope concede such a passport, the Jesuit would receive it and forward it to him at Lyons ; and then on receipt of it he would immediately set out for Rome.[42]

It is important to compare this with what he stated in his confessions two years later. " There (at Venice)," he wrote, " I came acquainted with Father Benedetto Palmio, a grave and learned Jesuit. By conference with him of the hard lot of Catholics in England and by reading of the book *De Persecutione Anglicana* and other discourses of like argument, I conceived a possible means to relieve the afflicted state of our Catholics, if the same might be warranted in religion and conscience by the Pope or some other divines. I asked his (i.e. Palmio's) opinion ; he made it clear, commended my devotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me known to the nuncio Campeggio, Resident there for his Holiness. By this means I wrote to the Pope, presented my service and sued for a passport to go to Rome and return safely to France."[43] In this passage, an astute mixture of the true and the false, the whole tenor of his confessions makes it clear that he is cleverly insinuating, without expressly stating it, that he discussed the assassination plot with Father Palmio, by his means made it known to the nuncio and through him to the Pope, who later gave it his approval. In a word the secret design against the Church on the part of the Queen became, two years later, a plot to assassinate her, in which Palmio, the nuncio at Venice and the Pope himself were all implicated.

But to return to the contemporary correspondence. In consequence of Campeggio's despatch of April 16, the Cardinal Secretary of State made one small concession. He wrote to the nuncio authorising him to send Parry a letter affirming that he could make the journey to and from Rome in safety, as that should be sufficient guarantee ; for it was not customary for the Pope to concede any other kind of passport. The nuncio, he added, might also send Parry another letter to see what his decision would be ; but his departure for Lyons instead of for Rome gave Como personally little hope of his sincerity. On these instructions the nuncio acted and with that left the story to be taken up by a Scotch Jesuit resident in Lyons.[44]

On July 17 Father William Crichton, S.J., informed Como that Parry was still at Lyons and had understood from Father Palmio that his Holiness had granted him a safe-conduct through all the States of the Church. The Jesuit praised his good qualities, but observed that the difficulty was to know what was at the back of his mind and how far one could place any confidence in him. Parry's countryman, however, the Archdeacon of Cambray knew him and would answer for him.[45] Crichton had evidently written much in the same sense in a letter of July 5 which is not now extant ; for Como replied to one of his of that date, that in consideration of the information supplied by the Jesuit the Pope had conceded a safe-conduct. He enclosed another letter, also addressed to Crichton, which he was to

deliver to Parry authorising him to make the journey to and from Rome, as he pleased, without hindrance from any inquisitor or other officer of the Church. His stay in Rome, however, was not to exceed two months, nor was he to stop on his way at any place longer than his convenience on the journey demanded.[46] A further letter from Como declared that the Pope had thought it better for Parry to go to Milan instead of to Rome, as the journey would be shorter and less troublesome and on that account possibly more to Parry's liking. The safe-conduct already granted would be valid for this journey. If Parry had not already left Lyons or could easily be communicated with, Crichton was to let him know the Pope's decision ; if otherwise, he was to take no further trouble.[47]

Despite this passport Parry went neither to Rome nor to Milan. Later in a letter to Como as also in his confessions he pretended that it had come too late.[48] But this was not in fact the case. He was certainly at Lyons on August 28, as his letter to Burghley of that date shows. Probably he remained later still, as it was only in October that he arrived in Paris.[49] The truth seems to be that he never had any serious intention of making the journey, but wished to open communication with the Holy See in view of his later schemes. Instead, he went to Orleans, intending to pursue his legal studies there ; but finding the plague raging in that city, he passed on to Paris—arriving there, as stated, in October.

All this time Parry was carrying on his old occupation of a spy. He recommended a " very sufficient man " at Venice as a suitable intelligencer in that city, and informed the Government of the intentions of Spain and of the movement of troops in the service of that country.[50] He wrote in support of Solomon Aldred, a fellow spy, and of his activities on behalf of E. Unton, who had been imprisoned in Milan by the Inquisition.[51] Twice he gave warning not to trust the Hamiltons, exiles from Scotland, whom Queen Elizabeth was sheltering ; and reported on what he declared to be good authority that some great practice was brewing in the North of England.[52] To Walsingham he wrote that his treaty[53] at Venice and Lyons had fallen out according to the Secretary's conjecture ; but that it had, he thanked God, assured his passage somewhat and that his credit with the malcontents was such as it should be—and yet, as Walsingham had written, he was still " borne in hand."[54] In an earlier letter he expressed the fear that any miscarriage of his letters might cost him his life.[55] On their side, the English ministers reposed confidence in him and on that account the ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Stafford, made use of him, though he wrote to Burghley that he had heard that Parry of late years depended on some other than the Treasurer—meaning, no doubt, Walsingham.[56]

IV

It was in France, so far as reliable evidence shows, that Parry first

broached the subject of assassination. The question of tyrannicide had come very much to the front since the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, and more than one work written during the following years upheld that the assassination of Tyrants was lawful. The ban, moreover, published in 1580 by Philip II against William of Orange, which declared him a traitor and put a price on his head, added further to the discussion of the topic. Already in March, 1582, the ban had led to an abortive attempt on his life and in fact, on July 10, 1584, was to lead to his assassination by Balthasar Gérard. The topic was, thus, very much in the air : and whilst at Lyons Parry pestered Fr. Crichton on the subject in relation to Queen Elizabeth, rather in the form of a speculative question than implying any concrete proposal for an attempt on her life. But in spite of all the arguments urged by Parry in support of assassination, the Jesuit categorically denied that it was morally justifiable.[57]

In Paris the subject of the assassination of the Queen was once more taken up, but this time not in the vague but with the definite suggestion that Parry should undertake it. He had there renewed his intimacy with two servants of Mary, Queen of Scots, his own countryman Thomas Morgan and Morgan's associate, Charles Paget, both leaders of the faction among the exiles that was opposed to Allen and Persons. By the latter Parry was considered a spy ; and Allen, though he did not decline all conversation with him, treated him with circumspection, whilst Persons refused to have anything to do with him.[58] According to Parry it was Morgan who proposed the design of assassination, but in view of his earlier conversation with Crichton it seems more probable that the suggestion was made by himself. Be this as it may, Morgan was soon embroiled in what was a hypothetical plot[59]—hypothetical because Parry had first to be assured that it was morally justified and because he never had any intention of putting it into execution.[60] According to his own confessions, the divine whom, by appointment with Morgan, he consulted, declared that it was utterly unlawful ; and later again another priest whom he consulted in England gave the same answer.[61]

It was Morgan, too, who took him to the nuncio by night, but neither the circumstances of the introduction—Parry was muffled in a clerical cloak for disguise[62]—nor the subsequent conversations inspired confidence. Quite the contrary : the nuncio held him in gravest suspicion. However, he forwarded a letter written by Parry to Como, December 10, 1583, which ran as follows :—

Your Eminence

Had my negotiations with Mgr. Campeggio in Venice and later with Fr. Crichton in Lyons had the good effect that I desired and thought to have merited by my determined good will to render grateful and loyal service to the Holy Father and the Apostolic See, I should ere this have been on my way to Rome to kiss the feet of His Holiness ; or with less expense and inconvenience to myself and greater satis-

faction and peace of mind, according to the desire of His Holiness declared in your letter to Fr. Crichton of 18th July, I should have retired to Milan to hold conference with His Eminence Charles Borromeo or his Vicar-General about the matter treated of by me with Mgr. Campeggio and the said Father. But before I received news from Rome, winter supervened and bad weather which blocked the road of that long journey.[63] Letters of my friends, too, urged me to hasten and draw nearer to my native country. Before my arrival in Paris, however, I did not fail in my duty as a good Catholic to inform Fr. Crichton of my state and intention. The duty yet remains for me to send this humble supplication in writing to your Eminence, that as I have discharged my conscience of the past, it may please your Eminence to obtain from his Beatitude under your hand a full remission of all past offences and some testimonial by which I may know for the future that I am held and received as a member of the Holy Catholic Church, as I have ever wished to live and so hope to die, though I have somewhat vacillated in matters of state (which causes me intense grief). There are never wanting jealous and spiteful people unacquainted with my actions who will seek to malign me and give information against me to his Holiness and your Eminence. Hence I humbly beg His Holiness not to give immediate credence to such, and am content that you rely on the reports of Mgr. the Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador for Scotland, the Bishop of Ross, Fr. Crichton, Mr. Charles Paget and Mr. Thomas Morgan, respected Catholic gentlemen, well known in these parts. Without the advice of some of these I shall not embroil myself in any affair of importance, and in this determination I await with great eagerness to hear from your Eminence, to whom I heartily commend myself and offer prayers to God for your health and prosperity. From Paris, 10 December 1583.

Your Eminence's humble servant

W. PARRY [64]

At the same time as he forwarded this letter, the nuncio reported that he had received a bad account of Parry and had been warned that he was not to be trusted. A week later he again urged that the Pope should be cautious how he trusted those who gave themselves out as exiles from England for religion; for many of them were spies.[65] On this account, it may be, Parry received no immediate reply. So on January 1, 1584, he wrote to the Pope the following letter:—

Most Holy Father

I have in mind to undertake an enterprise which with the grace of God I shall ere long carry through for the public good, the peace of the whole of Christendom, the restauration of England to its ancient obedience to the Apostolic See, and the liberation from her long and weary sufferings of the Queen of Scotland, the only true and undoubted heiress of the crown of England. Should I produce the good effect that I hope for and greatly desire, I beg your Holiness with all submission and humility that as I am resolved to take upon myself this very dangerous enterprise without any promise in this world, so it may please you out of the plenitude of your power to grant me (having this day confessed and received communion) a plenary and absolute indulgence and remission of all my sins and to repute me an obedient and devout son of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, in the bosom of which and in favour of your Holiness I ardently desire to live and die. And so I kiss your Holiness's feet. Paris, 10 December.

Your Holiness's most humble and devoted son

W. PARRY

In this letter he enclosed an attestation by the Jesuit Annibal de Codreto that he had confessed and received Holy Communion that day.[66]

It is significant that three days before the date of this letter Sir Edward Stafford, the ambassador, wrote twice on his behalf. To Walsingham he sent a private note warmly recommending him—though, as he said, he perceived from the Secretary's last letter, thanking the ambassador for the way he used Parry, that it was superfluous to write in his favour. To the Queen herself he in like manner stated that Parry's dutiful good will to her Majesty and his country had sufficiently recommended him to herself and to most of her honourable council, yet he was bold enough to add also his word of praise. Parry had both the ability and the means to do her good service. He added more significantly still: "*Besides that I think he hath some matter of importance that he hath kept to deliver to yourself for the good will he hath to do you service*"; and he suggested that he might be suitably rewarded. Of both these letters Parry himself was the bearer.[67] Armed then with these recommendations he crossed to England in January and, on arriving in London, obtained an audience with the Queen in her palace at Whitehall. He there related to her that he had been sent from France by the friends of the Queen of Scots, Thomas Morgan in particular, and by the Jesuits with the approval of the Pope, in order to assassinate her; that he would shortly receive a letter from Rome commending the project; and that he himself had only entered the conspiracy in order to discover these dangerous practices of her enemies.[68] This, then, was the "matter of importance" which the English ambassador had warned the Queen that Parry had kept to deliver to her.

Meanwhile the nuncio transmitted his letter to the Pope of January 1, 1584, but again with a caution that the writer was too well known in Paris and had certainly a bad reputation.[69] Despite these repeated warnings as to Parry's character, the Cardinal Secretary of State on January 30 replied to his letter, bidding the nuncio to forward this answer and stating that both letters of Parry, to himself and to the Pope, concerned a matter such as no harm would be done in reposing confidence in him so long as he did not pass to something else.[70] Como's reply, accordingly, after some delay was sent on to Parry in March. It ran as follows:—

"His Holiness hath seen your letter of the first with the certificate included and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution which you write you have towards the public service and benefit: wherein His Holiness doth exhort you to persevere and to bring to effect that which you have promised. And to the end that you may so much more be holpen by that good spirit which hath moved you thereunto, he doth grant to you his blessing, plenary indulgence and remission of all your sins according to your request, assuring you that besides the merit that you shall receive thereof in heaven, His Holiness will farther make himself debtor to acknowledge your deservings in the best manner that he can: and that so much the more in that you use the greater modesty in not pretending to anything. Put therefore to effect your holy and honourable purposes and attend to your health. And to conclude I offer myself heartily unto you and do desire for you all good and happy success."[71]

Parry was not slow in showing this letter to some of the court and to the Queen herself as confirmation of his earlier statements, and so it was accepted.[72] For the time being his trickery had certainly succeeded. "He was welcomed with fine speeches" wrote Persons. The Queen herself made much of him and gave him several audiences; a liberal pension was granted him, and he was given a seat in the Parliament that met in November of that year, being returned member for Queenborough, Kent.[73] His stock, indeed, was so high that Burghley's nephew, Sir E. Hoby, placed his affairs in his hands, empowering him to solicit his business at court and begging his uncle to give to Parry the same credit as he would to himself.[74]

V

But his good fortune did not last long. Whether on account of financial difficulties[75] or because of his disappointment at not being made Master of S. Katherine's Hospital, as he desired,[76] he determined (so it appears) to repeat the part he had played with Morgan—doubtless hoping thereby to increase in favour with the Queen and her ministers. The person he selected was an Englishman named Edward Neville, who had lately returned from Rouen where he had been acting as a spy for the Government.[77] Neville's financial position was not good. He had, moreover, a grievance; for he claimed to be heir to his grand-uncle the 4th and last Lord Latimer,[78] whose daughter Dorothy, married to Burghley's eldest son Thomas, had succeeded to the estates.[79] From the moment of his return the Government held him in suspicion, and Parry himself had denounced him to the Queen as a disaffected person.[80] Sometime in the summer of 1584 Parry approached Neville, to whom he claimed to be kin, and suggested to him that the only way to retrieve his fortune was to assassinate the Queen. He returned to the suggestion more than once, proposing what seem now rather fantastic means of effecting it, but Neville determinedly refused to consider the proposal; and there the matter ended for the moment.[81]

In the December of that year an incident occurred which in the light of after events was ominous for Parry's future. On Thursday, December 17, when the bill proposing further penal measures against the Catholics was read the third time, Parry spoke in strong and vigorous terms against it; and such was the liberty of speech enjoyed in the great Elizabethan days that he was at once confined to an outer room in the custody of the Serjeant. Brought into the House again and made to kneel, he repeated his comments and said he would justify them by good reasons, which he would declare not to the House but to the Queen herself. So he was remanded in custody. On the next day the Queen declared by the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, that while she approved the conduct of the House in the matter, Parry by her appointment and partly to her

satisfaction had revealed his reasons to some of the Lords in Council, and she suggested that a humble acknowledgment of his fault ought to be sufficient satisfaction. Parry, accordingly, on his knees affirmed that he had misbehaved and as a new member, unacquainted with the orders of the House, had spoken rashly and inadvisedly, for which he was truly penitent. On that he was accepted again as a member. The incident is certainly a curious one ; the reasons for his protest were never made public. Probably he was sincere in his denunciation of the bill ; for he had learned abroad the opinion of England created by such barbarous penal laws.[82]

Some weeks after this incident, Parry twice again approached Neville on the subject of assassination ; and the latter two days or so later, on February 8, 1585, laid an information against him. The Queen therefore, according to the official account, instructed Walsingham, as a trusted friend of Parry, to call him to his house. There he was informed that " the Queen had been advertised that there was somewhat intended against her own person, wherewith she thought he could not but be acquainted, considering the great trust that some of her most affected subjects reposed in him ; and that her pleasure was that he should declare unto him his knowledge therein, and whether the said Parry himself had let fall any speech unto any person (*though with an intent only to discover* his disposition) that might draw him into suspicion as though he himself had any such wicked intent." Parry denied that there had been any such speech ;[83] but later spontaneously declared that he remembered a speech with his kinsman, E. Neville, touching a point of doctrine—that it was lawful to take the life of a prince for the furtherance of the Faith—contained in Allen's book ;[84] but he persisted in his denial that there had been any speech against her Majesty. When next day he was confronted with Neville, he replied that it was only Neville's word against his—a significant remark, showing that he knew the Government was powerless legally to convict him ; for by an act of Edward VI in 1552 two witnesses of the treasonable act were required, and he had carefully avoided the danger of a second witness.[85]

A few days later Parry made a full confession. Despite the lies in this, proved by the contemporary documents, the Government would have it believed that this confession was made without pressure. At the trial, indeed, Parry at first acknowledged that he made it " freely and without constraint " ;[86] but later, after the confession and his doctored letter to the Queen had been read, he declared : " and yet I was never intending to kill the Queen. I appeal to her own knowledge and to my Lord Treasurer's and Master Secretary's " : and upon the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, appealing to his own confession, he replied : " Your Honours know my confession upon examination was extorted." To this both Lord Hunsdon and the Vice-Chamberlain affirmed that " there was no torture or threatening words offered him." But they told him, Parry

urged, " that if he did not confess he should have torture," and, on their repeating " that they used not any speech or word of torture to him," he answered : " You said you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confess it of myself." This they denied and the Vice-Chamberlain declared : " I will tell thee what we said : I spake these words : if you willingly utter the truth of yourself, *it may do you good :* I wish you to do so : if you will not we must proceed in ordinary course to take your examination."[87] To this Parry yielded.

Considering, however, that Parry knew he could not legally be convicted owing to lack of a second witness and that it was the known practice of the Government to use torture to extract a confession ; considering, too, his reiterated statements that he never intended to harm the Queen—quite contrary to his own confession—and that he appealed to her knowledge and that of Burghley and Walsingham as to the truth of this, it seems hardly beyond doubt that, though the word torture or any explicit threat may not have been used—and an effect on the prisoner could well be made without either—some sort of pressure was definitely exerted to make him confess. It may be that an impression was conveyed that all would still be well with him, if he made such a confession as was suitable for the Government's purpose—with a hint of dire consequences if he refused. This might well agree with the Vice-Chamberlain's words and also with his own uttered at the trial : " I see that I must die because I have not been consistent with myself."[88] In a word he found himself trapped and condemned to death by his own false statements ; for false they undoubtedly are.

VI

Be that as it may, the indictment was framed and the trial conducted as though there had been a continuous plot, undertaken with the approval of the Pope, of which the attempt to obtain Neville's assistance was but one of several incidents.[89] Definite dates, February 1, March 31 and August 31, 1584, were introduced into the indictment to give it an air of greater verisimilitude, though these are nowhere found in the confessions either of Parry or of Neville.[90] Besides Parry's confessions there were read at the trial his letter from the Tower of February 14, 1585, to the Queen, with the awkward passages omitted,[91] and that to Burghley and Leicester of the 18th February, together with Como's letter to himself. The Queen, moreover, was represented as being in continual danger all the time since his return to England, from which only the merciful providence of God had delivered her.[92] All this, be it remarked, though the Government had in their possession an intercepted letter of Parry of February 22, 1584, after his return to England in which, definitely renouncing the project, he wrote to Morgan :—

I have not been careless of the debt undertaken, but being meanly satisfied before my departure from Paris I laboured for conference with a singular man on this side

to be fully informed what might be done in conscience in that case for the common good. I was very learnedly and substantially in reason, politely and divinely, overruled and assured that it might not fall into the thought of a good Christian. The difficulties, besides, are so many and in this vigilant time full of despair. *The service you know did never pass your hand and mine : and may therefore with more ease and less offence be concealed and suppressed.* I am out of doubt that the divine with whom I had conference there with your appointment is secret and honest.[93]

Of course, the revelation of the so-called plot by Parry on his arrival in England, the disclosing of the letter to Como on his receipt of it, together with the subsequent high favour shown to him on that account proved rather awkward corners for the Government. But they turned them by lying boldly. They declared somewhat paradoxically that Parry's intent in discovering the plot in the first instance was only to make it easier to execute later—this despite Parry's letter to Morgan already cited, which they had in their possession. The favours accorded to him they ascribed to the wonderful clemency of the Queen ; and lest the ministers themselves might be accused of want of care for her safety, seeing that they had emphasised the extreme danger in which she had been all this time, they roundly asserted that out of regard for Parry she had concealed the plot from all, lest her loyal subjects might take vengeance on him—an assertion which, apart from its utter improbability, is contradicted by Parry's own confessions. Such trifling inconsistency, both at the trial and in their published account of the affair, evidently did not worry them.

The verdict at the trial was a foregone conclusion. After the judge had pronounced sentence Parry, " persisting still in his rage and passion, said : ' I here summon Queen Elizabeth to answer for my blood '." At the place of execution he once more avowed his innocence of all intent to harm the Queen.

" His offense [he confessed] was twofold : the one in being reconciled to the Church of Rome (whereof he was a member) both at Milan and Paris[94] ; the other in entering into conference with his kinsman and friend (as he took him) Mr. Neville and in concealing what passed between them, which he did *upon confidence of her Majesty* to whom he had betrayed what he had been solicited to do.[95] Being charged with Cardinal Como's letter by Mr. Topcliffe and that therein he had promised to destroy her Majesty and was by him as from the Pope animated thereunto. O Master Topcliffe, said he, *you clean mistake it.* I deny any such matter to be in the letter and I wish it might be truly examined and considered. On the sheriff requiring him to cease to exculpate himself, he replied, Oh, Mr. Sheriff give me leave to speak : for this is my last farewell to you all. I die a true servant to Queen Elizabeth ; from any evil thought that ever I had to harm her, it never came into my mind ; she knoweth it and her conscience can tell her so. God save Queen Elizabeth ; for a more gracious Princess and Sovereign never was. I avow it before you all and seal it here with my blood. I die guiltless and free in mind from ever thinking hurt to her Majesty."

After once more asserting his innocence and having recited the Our Father in Latin, he was turned off the ladder, cut down at once and dis-

embowelled whilst still alive. As Persons wrote some years later to Ideaquez: "That was the end of Parry."[96]

Whilst from the above account it is evident that much in the case remains obscure, it may safely be asserted that the Pope had nothing to do with the so-called plot. The business on which Parry at Venice pretended a desire to consult the Holy Father has been shown, from the contemporary despatches of the nuncio, to have been not a plot against the life of Queen Elizabeth, as implied in Parry's confessions and so declared by the Government, but a design of the Queen against the Catholics. In his letters to Como and to the Pope and in Como's reply to them, there is not a word about assassination nor anything that implied it; and Parry's statement before his execution, cited above, does but confirm and reinforce this. His assertion, moreover, in his private letter to Morgan, February 22, 1584, that Morgan was the only person who knew his design —written, let it be noted, several weeks after his letters to Como and to the Pope—clearly rules out all knowledge of it on the part of the Vatican.

With this the affair must be left at present. There are still several points to be considered: why, for instance, Parry, though known to be an agent-provocateur, was condemned; the connection of the trial with such books as Allen's *True Sincere and Modest Defence;* the relation of the so-called conspiracy to the Bond of Association, the Babington Plot and with Mary, Queen of Scots; and finally the consequences it entailed both for Morgan and Neville. But consideration of all these questions must be left for a future occasion.

L. HICKS

NOTES.

[1] The warrant for his execution is preserved in the British Museum, Lansd. 43. n.52.

[2] J. H. Pollen, S.J.: *Queen Mary and the Babington Plot,* Edinburgh, 1922, pp. xxi. and xxv–xxix; and *The Politics of English Catholics during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, The Month,* July, 1902, pp. 3–7.

[3] His own statement is given in a letter to Burghley, August 2, 1584, Lansd. 43, n.13. The Government's account is to be found in the tract: A True and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry, published in 1585 a few days after his execution, and later incorporated for the most part in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (Hooker's edition, 1586, III., p. 1382 and ff.). It is to be noted, however, that in Parry's indictment of 1580 (see infra) he is described as "generosus." (Lansd. 43. n.51.).

[4] E realmente huomo di molto grandi intelligentie et che ha bellissime qualità. Crichton to Como, Lyons, 17 July, 1583. N.S. Record Office, Transcripts 9, bundle 80.

[5] "For myne owne state I have no newes but that I have already taken degree in law." Parry to Walsingham, Paris 17 December, 1583. N.S. Dom. Eliz. Addenda, xxviii. n. 46.

[6] Parry to Burghley, Paris 15 January, 1580, Lansd. 29. n. 55: Parry to Queen Elizabeth, The Tower, 14 February, 1585. Ibid, 43, n. 47.

[7] The Council to the J.P's. in Kent, 6 March, 1571. Dasent, Privy Council Registers, VIII., p. 16.

[8] Parry to Burghley, London, 2 August, 1584. Lansd. 43, n. 13.

[9] J. Somers to Walsingham, 2 March, 1585. Boyd Calendar of Scottish Papers, VII., p. 585.

[10] Parry to Burghley, London, 23 May, 1577. Lansd. 25, n. 61.

[11] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 15 January and 7 April, 1580, Lansd. 29, nn. 55 and 31.1. He has heard, he states in these letters, that his departure has caused offence, but hopes that the necessity which drove him to it and his demeanour on the continent will excuse him.

[12] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 1 May, 1580, Lansd. 31, n. 3.

[13] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 30 July, 1580, Dom. Eliz. Addenda XXVII. n. 27.

[14] Cobham to Burghley, Paris, 7 July, 1580, Hatfield Calendar, II. p. 330 : Parry to Burghley, Paris, 20 April, 1580, Lansd. 31, n. 2.

[15] T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1754, vol. 1, p. 12. Birch cites as his authority a later letter of Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, 11 September, 1596.

[16] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 30 July, 1580, Dom. Eliz. Addenda XXVII., n. 27.

[17] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 4 June, 1580, Dom. Eliz. Addenda XXVII. n. 17. The nuncio's despatch is dated 18 June and states that the news had been received from Allen three days previously. Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Francia, XV., f. 258.

[18] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 30 June, 1580, Hatfield Calendar II, p. 328. Cf. Como to Allen, Rome 25 July, 1580, Knox, *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, London, 1882, p. 402.

[19] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 1 May, 30 June and 20 July, 1580—ut supra.

[20] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 30 July, 1580, Lansd. 31, n. 9.

[21] In a letter to Burghley, 4 August, 1580, T. Copley wrote that " the bearer Mr. Parry . . . . doth now go into England." *Letters of Sir Thomas Copley, Roxburgh Club*, London, 1897, p. 124. But Parry, writing to Burghley from London, 11 September, 1580, gives the impression that he has very recently arrived in England and desires to see the Treasurer and report. Lansd. 31, n. 13.

[22] The barbarous legal Latin of the indictment states that " vi et armis mansiunculam Hugonis Hare in interiori Templo . . . inter horas sextam et septimam in nocte eiusdem diei noctanter felonice et burgulariter fregit et intravit . . . cum intentione ad felonice interficiendum et murderandum praedictum Hugonem necnon ad felonice spoliendum praedictum Hugonem . . . de bonis, catellis, etc. Lansd. 43, n. 50. The incident occurred on 2 November, 1580.

[23] The extant evidence in Lansd. 43, n. 51 with marginal comments in Parry's hand. At the end of the document he has written : " It will be proved that the Recorder spake with the jury and that the foreman did drink."

[24] Cf. " A True and plaine declaration, etc." If this statement is true, and of that there is no certainty, it cannot refer to Burghley and Walsingham, as his later letters to them show.

[25] Parry to the Council, 17 December, 1581, Dom. Eliz., CL, nn. 86 and 86.1. Amongst the gentlemen who stood surety for £100 are named Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Perrott and Edward Stafford, who was later ambassador in France. The two who are named as sureties for £1,000 are Sir John Conway and Sir George Peckham.

[26] In this letter he declared that the original debt was £600, but by ' usury and recompense ' it had grown to £1,000. Of this he had paid £300 and Mr. W. Thomas was willing to pay £100, and for the rest he was ready for ' discharge of his friends ' credit " to stand to such order as the council should think reasonable so that he may be delivered and acquitted."

[27] Dasent, Privy Council Registers, XIII., p. 453. The order is entered in the register between one of 24 June and another of 26 June, 1582.

[28] Faunt to Bacon, 1 August, 1582, quoted by Birch, op. cit. 1. p. 25.

[29] Cobham to Walsingham, Paris 26 December, 1582. Record Office S.P. 78.8, n. 50.

[30] " Parry whom you recommended to me, departed yesterday towards Lyons." Cobham to Walsingham, 26 September, 1582, ut supra.

[31] Milan would hardly have been a place of danger for a sincere Catholic, but might well have been so for one who masqueraded as one and was in reality a spy. Parry appears here to betray himself.

[32] Parry to Burghley, Venice, 28 January, 1583. N.S. Lansd. 40, n. 24.

[33] Parry to Burghley, Venice, 4 and 10 March, 1583. N.S. Lansd. 37, nn. 32 and 33. He is probably referring to the second Roman edition of Persons's work, printed and published by the Ferrari brothers in 1582. This edition contained engravings depicting the tortures and barbarous death inflicted on the English martyrs.

[34] Parry to Burghley, Lyons, 10 May, 1583, N.S. Lansd. 39, n. 21. In his autobiography Fr. Persons states that the association of spies and opponents of Allen and himself was so strong that many good Catholics feared them, " for that Mr. Baines was cast by them into the Inquisition for a year or more, and they threatened also D. Allen and Persons " (C.R.S. II. p. 35). In the above letter Parry may be referring to these intrigues, though his letter seems somewhat early in date for this. Persons, however, gives no very precise

date of these intrigues. Solomon Aldred, once a Catholic and later a Government spy, was certainly connected with the opposition to Allen and Persons, and Parry's letters of June and August, 1583, make it clear that he was acquainted with Aldred.

[35] Campeggio to Como, Venice, 12 March, 1583, enclosing the letter of Parry written in Italian. R.O. Transcripts 9, bundle 80.

[36] Como to Campeggio, Rome, 19 March, 1583, ibid.

[37] Campeggio to Como, Venice, 26 March, 1583, ibid.

[38] Como to Campeggio, Rome 2 April, 1583, ibid.

[39] Campeggio to Como, Venice, 9 April, 1583, ibid.

[40] In his letter to Como the length of service was twelve years. Cf. supra. Nor was it true that he had served the Queen in important affairs. There is not the slightest evidence.

[41] Compare this with his earlier statement that his retention in Rome would betray him to the English Government to the utter ruin of all connected with him. Cf. supra.

[42] Campeggio to Como, Venice, 16 April, 1583, ibid.

[43] In his letter to Burghley and Leicester, The Tower, 18 February, 1585, he wrote : " The matter (i.e. of assassination) first conceived at Venice, the service in general words presented to the Pope, continued and undertaken in Paris, and lastly commended and warranted by His Holiness " (referring to Como's letter 30 January, 1584, cf. infra). His speech at the trial has the same import. Cf. A True and plaine declaration, etc., 1585.

[44] Como to Campeggio, Rome, 23 April, 1583 : Campeggio to Como, Venice, 30 April. 1583, ibid.

[45] Crichton to Como, Lyons, 17 July, 1583, ibid. The Archdeacon of Cambray, Owen Lewis, was acting at this time as Vicar-General to Charles Borromeo, the saintly Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan.

[46] Como to Crichton, Rome, 18 July, 1583, with enclosure of same date addressed to Crichton, not to Parry, ibid.

[47] Como to Crichton, 1 August, 1583, Ibid.

[48] Parry to Como, Paris, 10 December, 1583. Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Francia XVII, f. 257. Cf. also his confessions.

[49] Parry to Burghley, Paris, 24 October, 1583. N.S. Lansd. 39, n. 43. Cf. also his confessions.

[50] Parry to Burghley, Lyons, 18 June, 12 and 27 August, 1583, N.S. Lansd. 39, n. 24 and R.O.S.P. 78, 10, nn. 25 and 29.

[51] Parry to Burghley, Lyons, 12 and 27 August, 1583, ut supra.

[52] Parry to Burghley, Lyons, 12 and 28 August, 1583, N.S., R.O.S.P. 78, 10, nn. 25 and 31. The report of trouble in the North of England may refer to the plans for the invasion of England and Scotland which were being discussed by the Duke of Guise, the nuncio, Dr. Allen and Fr. Persons in the summer of that year. Cf. *Letters and Memorials* of Fr. Robert Persons, S.J., *C.R.S.* XXXIX, p. LIX. On the other hand it may only be an echo of the earlier plan of 1582. Bergin, another spy, reported this as late as 1585, cf. *C.R.S.* XXI., p. 79.

[53] Meaning treatment. H. Unton used the word in that sense in a letter to Walsingham, Lyons, 23 April, 1583.

[54] Parry to Walsingham, Paris, 24 October, 1583, N.S., R.O.S.P. 78, 10, n. 52. The latter phrase suggests that there was opposition to him on the part of some members of the English Government.

[55] Parry to Walsingham, Lyons, 27 June, 1583, N.S., R.O.S.P. 78.9, n. 132.

[56] Stafford to Burghley, Paris, 21 October, 1583, R.O.S.P. 78.10, n. 58. From the extant evidence it is noticeable that Parry in the second half of 1583 corresponded regularly with Walsingham. He never, however, tried to conceal this from the Treasurer. One letter, indeed is addressed to both Burghley and Walsingham, viz., 28 August, 1583. R.O.S.P. 78, 10, n. 30.

[57] In a letter to Walsingham, 20 February, 1585, after Parry's arrest, Crichton wrote : " When your honour demanded of me if Master Parry did ask me if it was leason (lawful) to kill the Queen, in deed and verity then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since thinking of the matter I have called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me and some of his arguments ; for he dealt very craftily with me, I dare not say maliciously. For I did no wise think of any such design of his or any other and did answer him simply after my conscience and knowledge of the verity of the question. For after I had answered him twice before : Quod omnino non liceret, he returned that even late by reason I was to depart early in the morning towards Chambery in Savoy where I did remain and being returned out of the close within one of the classes of the college he propounded to me of new the matter with his reasons and arguments." To these Crichton answered again that it was not lawful. Holinshed, *Chronicle*, Hooker edit. 1586, III, p. 1388. The Rector of the college at Lyons had warned Crichton to beware of Parry and to deal circumspectly with him, as he was assured he was a spy. Ibid.

[58] Cf. Persons, Notes on the English Mission, C.R.S. IV, p. 123. In his confessions speaking of consulting divines as to whether the assassination was lawful Parry wrote : " Dr. Allen I desired, Persons I refused," but it is clear that he in fact never asked Allen's opinion on the subject. Later, Charles Paget in his accusations against the Society charged Persons with being an accomplice of Parry. Cf. Persons to Cardinal Cajetan, enclosing Paget's charges and his replies, 22 August, 1598. Vatican Arch. Nunz. Diverse, 264, ff. 229-240. Cf. also Persons to J. Idiaquez, 30 June, 1597, West. Arch. VI., n. 41 : To Paget, 20 December, 1597 and 14 February, 1598, *Stonyhurst Coll.* p. 452 ; and Arch. S.J. Rom. Anglia. 31, II, f. 711.

[59] Morgan equivalently denied complicity later, when he declared Parry's statements false. (Morgan to Mary, Queen of Scots, Paris, 30 May, 1585, Boyd, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, VII, p. 603.) So, too, did his friends, C. Paget and T. Throgmorton, Ibid. pp. 628. 636. But Parry's letter to Morgan, London, 22 February, 1584 which was intercepted by the Government shows that Morgan was involved in the hypothetical plot, but that his friends were not cognisant of it. Dom. Eliz. Addenda XXVII, n. 61. Cf. infra.

[60] Apparently from his own confessions, the approval of Fr. Palmio which he states was given was not enough ! That he never intended to execute it appears from his subsequent conduct when he reached England (cf. infra) and from his own statements at his trial. In spite of his confessions, he then declared : " And yet I never intended to kill the Queen : I appeal to her own knowledge and to my Lord Treasurer's and Master Secretary's," and again later he cried out in a furious manner : " I never meant to kill her : I will lay my blood upon Queen Elizabeth and you before God and the world." On the scaffold, too, he declared : " I die a true servant of Queen Elizabeth ; for any evil thought that ever I had to harm her it never came into my mind : she knoweth it, and her own conscience can tell her so . . . . I die guiltless and free in mind from ever thinking hurt to her Majesty." He was equivalently saying that he was an agent provocateur of the Government and appealing to their knowledge that it was so. His whole career and later events after his return to England at the end of 1584 support this. Cf. infra.

[61] Parry to Morgan, London, 22 February, 1584 ut supra. In his confessions he states that the priest consulted on the continent was " Master Wattes " and that he came upon him *by chance*. He did meet Watts—an old friend of Fr. Persons—at Rouen, and according to the latter revealed to him that he was going to England to oppose the Jesuits. C.R.S. II, p. 32 and IV, p. 123. The priest he consulted in England was Fr. Dryland, who was kept in prison for concealing it. Dom. Eliz. 199, n. 9.

[62] In his letter to C. Paget, 22 February, 1598 (Arch. S.J. Rom. Anglia, 31, II. f. 711) Persons humourously recalls these details and cites witnesses, among them the nuncio's secretary. Cf. Persons, *Notes Concerning the Mission, C.R.S.*, IV, p. 123.

[63] It was in the letter of 1 August, not in that of 18 July, that Como made known the Pope's wish that he should go to Milan rather than Rome. Cf. supra.

[64] Parry to Como, Paris, 10 December, 1583. Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Francia, XVII, f. 257.

[65] Raggazzoni to Como, Paris, 18 December, 1583, enclosing Parry's letter ; and 25 December, 1583. Ibid. ff. 278, 280.

[66] The original holograph of Parry with Codreto's attestation is in Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Francia, XVII, f. 286.

[67] Sir Edward Stafford to Queen Elizabeth, 29 December, 1583 : to Walsingham of same date. R.O.S.P. 78, 10, nn. 115, 117. Italics mine.

[68] Cf. the Government account, " A True and plaine declaration : Holinshed, Hooker ed. III, p. 1382, and D. Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, London, 1846, 1, p. 258 : Persons, *Notes Concerning the English Mission, C.R.S.* IV, 123, and Persons to Idiaquez 30 June, 1597, West. Arch. VI, n. 41.

[69] Raggazzoni to Como, Paris, Vat. Arch., Nunz. di Francia, 17, f. 287. Compare Parry's account in his confessions with the thrice repeated warnings of the nuncio. There he wrote : " I went with Morgan to the nuncio, Raggazzoni, to whom I read the letter and certificate enclosed, sealed it and left it with him to send to Rome. He promised great care of it and to procure answer—and so lovingly embraced me, wished me good speed and promised I should be remembered at the altar."

[70] Como to Nuncio, Rome, 30 January, 1584. Vat. Arch. Nunz. di Francia, 16, f. 342.

[71] The Government's translation : " A True and plaine declaration . . " p. 25. The original Italian is in Lansd. 96, n. 13 and the original draft in the Vatican Archives, Cf. R.O. Transcripts 9, bundle 81.

[72] Confessions. A True and plaine declaration . . . , Holinshed, III, 1384-1389. Cf. Vice-Chamberlain's speech at the trial, ibid. and State Trials, 1, col. 1108. Persons, *Notes Concerning the English Mission, C.R.S.* IV, p. 123.

[73] The Government's account, Holinshed, III, 1382 : Parry to Burghley s.d. but with contemporary endorsement, May, 1584, Lansd. 43, n.7.

[74] Sir E. Hoby to Burghley, 1 October, 1584, Hatfield Calendar III, p. 67 : Cf. Parry to Burghley, 3 September, 1584, Lansd. 43, n. 16.

[75] " Pardon poor Parry and relieve him ; for life without living is not fit for him." Parry to Leicester and Burghley, The Tower, 18 February, 1585, A True and plaine declaration . . , p. 21.

[76] Cf. Parry to Burghley (May), 1584, and 3 September, 1584. Lansd. 43, nn. 7 and 16.

[77] Neville's letters to Walsingham, 15 September, 25 October and 8 November, 1583. Foreign Calendar, XVIII, pp. 128, 168 and 199.

[78] He died in 1577.

[79] D.N.B. sub Neville.

[80] A True and plaine declaration . . , Holinshed III, p. 1384. Camden, Annales, 1625, p. 392.

[81] Cf. Neville's Confessions 9 and 10 February, 1585. Dom. Eliz. 176 nn. 47 and 48 : Parry's confessions in A True and Plaine declaration . .

[82] Cf. D'Ewes, *Journal of all the Parliaments during the reign of Elizabeth*, London, 1682, pp. 340, 342.

[83] Cf. A True and plaine declaration, etc., Holinshed, Hooker ed. III, p. 1383. The words I have italicised surely betray that the Government was well aware of Parry's role as agent provocateur. They should be considered with its further statement that Parry some time ago had denounced Neville as a disaffected person. That Parry did not seize this way of escape, offered by the Government, is piously put down as an act of God's justice and providence. God in fact blinded him to it.

[84] No such doctrine is contained in the book of Allen's referred to—A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics, 1584.

[85] Cf. G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 4th ed., 1913, p. xcvii, and the statute 13 Eliz. c.l., IX. Parry's care to avoid a second witness is clear from his confessions : " He (Neville) brought a gentleman (whom he commended for an excellent pistoller) to me to Canon Row . . . but I refused to deal with him, being loth to lay my head upon so many hands." Neville, in fact, was the only one with whom he dealt. Parry himself had formerly tried to get a witness when dealing with Morgan, but the latter was too wary (cf. State Trials I, col. 1103), and in his letter to the Queen, 14 February, 1585 from the Tower, he wrote : " there is never a man of our nation abroad or at home, privy to this cause, but Thomas Morgan, a Catholic gentleman so beloved, trusted and protected in France as you shall hardly be able to touch him by any ordinary course ; that proof depending upon his yea and my nay and having no letter or cipher wherewith to charge him." Parry evidently did not know that his letter to Morgan, 22 February, 1584, had been intercepted.

[86] It must be remembered that the only account of the trial is that published by the Government. The letter of Parry to the Queen, of which the original holograph is still extant (Lansd. 43, n. 46) was certainly doctored, passages being omitted which told against the Government's contention. This letter was read at the trial in its doctored form and so published. Strype was the first to discover the doctoring. Cf. Annals, London, 1728, III, Appendix p. 102. Cf. also D. Jardine, Criminal Trials I, p. 262.

[87] Cf. Jardine's comment from a legal point of view on this procedure, op. cit. p. 267.

[88] Camden, Annales, 1625 ed., p. 395.

[89] Cf. A True and plaine declaration . . . " Did practice sundry times to have executed this detestable practice."

[90] The same ruse was practised at the trial of Campion and his companions.

[91] One of these ran : " Remember your unfortunate Parry, chiefly overthrown by your hard hand. Amend it in the rest of your servants. For it is past with me, if your Grace be not greater than I hope for." At first he had " unfortunate servant " but he blotted out " servant " and substituted his own name in its place. Lansd. 43, n. 47.

[92] Cf. Parry's confessions and the trial itself in A True and plaine declaration, etc. Cf. also the prayers composed for the occasion, Styrpe, Annals, 1728, III, Appendix, p. 99.

[93] Parry's holograph letter to Morgan, London, 22 February, 1584. Dom. Eliz. Addenda, XXVIII, n. 61. He was, of course merely " throwing dust " in Morgan's eyes, for by this he had already spun his tale to the Queen and the Government. Cf. also the passage in his letter to the Queen from the Tower cited in note 85, which passage was also omitted at the trial and in the account published by the Government.

[94] Why he should be reconciled twice does not appear !

[95] Italics mine. Compare question asked at his first interrogation. Cf. note 83 supra.

[96] The account of his execution is in Lansd. 43, n. 53. Strype, it seems, was the first to publish it. Clearly it was not in the interests of the Government to do so.

REVIEWS

Biography

YOUNG MR. NEWMAN. By Maisie Ward. London : Sheed and Ward. 1948. pp. xvi+477. 21s. net.

In her introduction Miss Ward states that when she asked permission at the Birmingham Oratory to inspect the files of Newman's early correspondence on which this book is largely based, she was informed by the genial and erudite archivist, Father Henry Tristram, that no one except her father, Wilfrid Ward, had asked to see these letters since 1885. Father Tristram's remark applied, no doubt, to intending biographers. Some two years, however, before Miss Ward got to work, it was the privilege of the present reviewer, when searching the archives for matter concerning a later period of Newman's life, to browse unofficially through the bundles of letters, the manuscript books and other remains connected with his childhood and early manhood. Even a casual glance revealed the wealth of material which they contained, and it is certainly matter for congratulation that these papers shortly fell into the hands of a writer so able, so energetic, and so well-equipped in every way for dealing with them, as Miss Ward.

It is difficult, in a short review, to give an adequate idea of the wealth of original matter contained in this book or of the ability with which it is arranged and commented on. A few general merits may be indicated.

Miss Ward has wisely been liberal with her quotations from the great mass of letters, both of Newman and of his family and friends, which it was, as she says, her " amazing good fortune " to find unpublished. Many and most diverse interpretations of Newman's conversion have been given to the world by writers who relied almost solely on his published works and on the comparatively brief account of his early life given by Wilfrid Ward. It is, therefore, most satisfying to have under one's eyes the day to day record of the views and sentiments of Newman and his immediate circle with regard to the whole complicated train of events which led up to his entrance into the Catholic Church.

It is, however, obvious that an account of these events based merely on the new material would be lacking in depth and completeness unless due cognisance were also taken of Newman's writings and of long-forgotten works which either influenced the Tractarian Movement or were its expression, such as Bishop Newton's *Dissertation on the Prophesies*, Hurrell Froude's *Remains*, Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures of 1832 and his *Observations on Religious Dissent*, or W. G. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*. This is work which has been done before ; but Miss Ward has made her excerpts with singular thoroughness and skill, and she has the advantage of being able to provide a continuous and living commentary from her new material. The necessary sketching in of the political and economic background of the early nineteenth century is done, too, with a sure and vivid touch. A notable example of this is Chapter XIX, *The World to be Moved*, in which Miss Ward depicts with admirable fairness the attitude of the Anglican clergy towards the burning question of political and social reform, an attitude whose sincere ignorance was so well illustrated by the reply of the Provost and Fellows of Oriel to the demand of their labourers for land, that the time and strength of the workman was due to his employer and that land would be only an encumbrance to him.

The ordinary reader will be grateful to Miss Ward for the help she gives him in reducing to some kind of order the extraordinarily complicated train of events, religious, political and social, which contributed to create the Oxford Movement. As far as possible, she deals with them chapter by chapter, and her exposition of the issues involved is so unpretentious as almost to conceal the real erudition which

gives it its clarity. Her Chapter VII, for instance, sets out with satisfying exactness the special features of the Evangelical Movement which gave to it both its strength and its weakness, and Chapter XXVII is highly illuminating on the origin of the 39 Articles and the precise issue raised with regard to them by Newman's Tract 90. Few living writers could have stated in such untechnical yet accurate language the theological and philosophical questions that were so fiercely debated in the Common Rooms of Oxford a century ago. Certainly there is no other woman in the world but Miss Ward who could have done it.

Even the heaviest portions of this book are readable, and it abounds in lighter passages, taken mainly from the letters of Newman and his mother and sisters, which will provide the ardent Newmanist with new tit-bits of intimate information. They will enjoy his skirmishes with his laundress, his encounter with a drunk on top of a coach, whom he reproved for " talking great nonsense to a silly goose of a maid-servant," and who first called him " a d . . . . . fool " and ended by shaking hands with him ; they will like to learn that Newman was known to his friends as " Noggs " and that, when the Heads of Houses began to plot his condemnation, he wrote to his sister Harriett : " I fear I am clean dished."

It is certainly fitting that this great book about the early life of Newman should have been written by the daughter of his first and greatest biographer and the granddaughter of one of his associates in the Oxford Movement. The student of Newman has now a bewildering array of biographies and sketches to choose from ; but there are three books with which he should begin, and he will find in them most of the truth which he will find in the others. These three books are Mr. Christopher Dawson's *Spirit of the Oxford Movement*—to which Miss Ward pays a deserved tribute—Miss Ward's present work, and her father's monumental *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman.*" F. McG.

NIETZSCHE. The Story of a Human Philosopher. By H. A. Reyburn. London : Macmillan. 1948. 21s. net.

NIETZSCHE. An Approach. By Janko Lavrin. London : Methuen. 1948. 7s. 6d. net.

IT cannot be denied that there is a need for books about Nietzsche. Between them, he and that very dissimilar person Karl Marx are perhaps the only vital contacts that our present-day world has with the truly enormous activity of thought in early nineteenth-century Germany. If Hegel lives on among us through Marx, Schopenhauer is almost equally alive through Nietzsche, and has thus left a deep impression on the " existentialist " brand of pessimism which is at the moment so fashionable on the Continent.

Though renowned, like his master Schopenhauer, for the beauty and vigour of his prose, Nietzsche is not everybody's cup of tea. His thought is obscure, contradictory, and rooted in the vagaries of his increasingly disordered mind, as well as taking off from a historical background complicated with Kantian and Hegelian metaphysical controversies. His most famous book, *Thus Spake Zarathustra,* is in the form of a series of disconnected aphorisms, and was put together when he was far advanced in the disease which was to leave him for ten years a helpless lunatic.

There have so far been only a few good books about Nietzsche in English, of which Father Copleston's, published in 1942, is probably the best. Now we get two almost together, both very good in different ways. There is a curious contrast between them. Dr. Reyburn is Professor of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, but his approach to Nietzsche is not chiefly psychological and is certainly far from Freudian. Dr. Lavrin is a professional literary critic ; but while no more a psycho-analyst than Dr. Reyburn, he sets out to explain his subject in terms of personality, and indeed of psychic pathology.

Dr. Reyburn has had as collaborators two South African colleagues named on his title-page—Mr. H. E. Hinderks, lecturer in German, and Mr. J. G. Taylor, lecturer in psychology, at Cape Town. He uses a broad canvas and fills it in with generous detail as well as with plentiful discussion, always kept on a commonsense level. It would be far-fetched to call his finely-produced work brilliant, and much will still remain after it for future interpreters to do. Nevertheless it will probably rank for many years to come as the standard English work on its subject. Nowhere else will the student be able to follow in such agreeable detail Nietzsche's peculiar relations with the Wagner circle, for example, or the story of *The Birth of Tragedy* and its repercussions. The philosophical background of his thought is also presented clearly and thoroughly, as is that of the great change which came over his mind in the late 'seventies, when he began to brood on eternal Recurrence and the Superman and broke for good with Wagner.

It is perhaps in respect of philosophical criticism that Dr. Reyburn's book is at its weakest. His own philosophical view seems to be that of a rather old-fashioned idealist—the kind of view from which Nietzsche was in violent reaction—but he scarcely obtrudes it, and it can certainly not be said to prejudice his judgment, which remains cool and commonsense to the end. In this respect Dr. Lavrin's smaller work, while it has its own great interest, does not make up for the larger book's deficiency, and students in search of a critique must still be recommended to go to Father Copleston.

Dr. Lavrin's clue to Nietzsche's thought is one which is also followed by Dr. Reyburn. It is the philosopher's own personality with its progressive tendency towards collapse and the reaction upon it of the cultural crisis which had already strongly set in upon the Germany of his day. " A great deal of his philosophy," says Dr. Lavrin, " is obviously a process of self-dramatisation " ; and he goes much further than Dr. Reyburn in applying this touchstone, as for instance in his suggestion that Nietzsche was secretly and for years in love with Cosima Wagner and dramatised this passion in the conflict between Dionysus (himself) and Theseus (Wagner) about Ariadne which was the subject of much of his final ravings and which he put into poetic form in 1885 in a fragment entitled *Naxos*. Dr. Lavrin also relates the confused and dithyrambic thought of Nietzsche on the world, society and the State to the problems of our own time, and ends with an instructive comparison between him and another prophet of chaos—Dostoevsky. M. T.

THE RED PRUSSIAN. By Leopold Schwarzschild. London : Hamish Hamilton. 1947. 16s.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO : SOCIALIST LANDMARK. By Harold J. Laski. London : George Allen and Unwin. 1948. 7s. 6d.

THERE is a strange fascination about the life of Marx, though for the most part it was a singularly drab one and had little in it that could legitimately be called adventurous. In character he seems to have been almost as repellent as a human being can be, at least outside his immediate family circle, and he is scarcely to be held up as a model family-man. Even his devoted colleague and disciple, Engels, found him on occasion difficult to bear. The secret of his attraction for the biographer, apart of course from his work as founder of the most successful revolutionary movement of modern times, probably lies in his terrific strength of character and ruthless purpose. It is strange how persistently even professed Marxists continue to apply to the great enemy of all sentiment and preacher of pitiless class war the criteria of petty-bourgeois morality.

His latest biographer, setting out with the obvious intention of tearing away the last veil from the head of the monolith, still falls victim to the fate that seems to constitute a " dialectical necessity " for all writers on Marx. The reason in Mr.

Schwarzschild's case is a curious one: it is literary. Writing in the modern semi-journalistic mode, he cannot avoid giving his biography some of the attributes of a novel, introducing imaginary conversations, soliloquies, and so forth. Inevitably this technique tends to turn the reader's sympathy, in spite of all the evidence, towards the biographer's highly unsympathetic subject. Thus, in spite of his title and the very full use he makes for the first time of the now completely available Marx-Engels correspondence, Mr. Schwarzschild has not given us, any more than the "official" Mehring or the objective Professor Carr or Mr. Berlin, a completely satisfactory life of Marx. Such a life should surely be fully Marxian, in the sense that it should be purged of even literary sympathy.

This is far from implying that Mr. Schwarzschild's book has not got very considerable merits. It is readable, vivacious, and exhaustive enough as far as the facts go, though there are certain surprising omissions: the Vogt affair, for example, in which Marx for once was, it seems, making just accusations, does not even figure in the index. Much picturesque, if not exactly subtle, detail has been added from the Marx-Engels letters to throw light on their private opinions of friends like Lassalle, Liebknecht, and Bebel. The book is weakest on the critical side, and the chapter headed "Intermezzo," in which *Kapital* is discussed in an imaginary epistle from an unknown author to an unnamed recipient, is cast in an unnecessarily mystifying form.

The British Labour Party have had the curious idea of issuing a centenary edition of the Communist Manifesto, with a long introduction by Professor Laski, at the moment when they themselves are being denounced as one of the two great enemies of communism. The best that can be said of this well-produced little book is that it presents us in a handy form with one of the most important of all historical documents. Mr. Laski, like many of his British colleagues, is what may be called a "modernist" in Marxism: that is to say, he interprets the ideas of Marx and Engels in a liberal sense which is anathema to Leninists. Scarcely any unprejudiced reader of Marx himself, or of such biographies of him as Mr. Schwarzschild's, can avoid the conviction that this re-interpretation would be greeted with equal objurgations by the founders themselves. Mr. Laski's introduction bears signs of hurried composition, and the book has been issued without the notes which were originally planned to go with it.

M. T.

JOHN LAW. The History of an Honest Adventurer. By H. Montgomery Hyde. London: Home and Van Thal. 1948. 16s. net.

GAMBLER, speculator, banker, philanderer, financial genius, fashionable man of the world, convert to Catholicism in an age of scepticism and debauchery—such was John Law, the subject of this biography. In the study of what he well calls an amazing career, Mr. Hyde has written a book that has a curious interest in the present unsettled state of the financial world.

When Louis XIV died in 1715 France was never before and probably never since in such a condition of economic and financial exhaustion. An intolerable burden of taxation weighed down the country, the national debt had soared to a gigantic height, the credit of the nation was annihilated. Bankruptcy was actually proposed as a measure to meet the crisis, but the idea was abandoned. It was in such a desperate situation that Law appeared in France and offered his services for her rehabilitation. They were accepted and in 1716 the government adopted the first of his credit schemes. All the gold and silver of the country was withdrawn, a State bank was established, and enormous quantities of notes were issued which almost immediately became legal tender through the country.

The bank turned out a huge success, and Law's next move was the famous Mississippi scheme. The bank procured the exclusive trade of Louisiana on the banks of that river. A Company, with a nominal capital of a hundred million livres, was created for its development. A wild mania of speculation at once followed. The Company's shares rose to phenomenal heights, fortunes were made often overnight and the Bank poured out notes to meet the demands of speculators. An immense impulse was given to trade, prosperity returned, and Law, lion of the hour, honoured and courted by all ranks of society, was in January, 1720, appointed Controller-General of France, highest post in the administration of the kingdom. Within a few months a reaction gradually set in when the evil effects of inflation began to show themselves. The Company's shares toppled, panic ensued, thousands were ruined and Law's life was in danger. Disillusioned and dispirited, he left France with his dreams for her rehabilitation shattered.

Opinions differed during his lifetime regarding Law's character and morality. To many he was an adventurer and charlatan. As the years passed, however, he came to be almost universally regarded as a man of integrity and as a brilliant financier with a grasp of economic principles far in advance of his time. Entirely honest and disinterested in his effort to serve France, he fell a victim to circumstances over which he had no control and brought ruin instead of salvation to that country. In this fine objective study of him Mr. Hyde, after much patient research, presents a man of integrity to whom one's sympathy goes out. And at least one contemporary, the Duc de Saint-Simon, has left a not unflattering portrait of him : " Law was a Scotchman of agreeable face and aspect, with neither avarice nor roguery in his composition . . . a gentle, good, respectable man whom excess of credit and good fortune had not spoiled, and whose deportment, equipages, table and fortune could not scandalise anyone."

Some Irish readers of this interesting biography will find it a little disappointing perhaps by reason of no reference in its pages to a famous Irishman, Richard Cantillon, who was born at Ballyheigue, Co. Kerry. An intimate friend of Law in Paris and a notable financier, he is known as " the father of political economy". There is some authoritative evidence to show too that he collaborated with Law in the latter's schemes in France. And he made an immense fortune by his speculations in the shares of the Mississippi venture.

R. H.

SHERIDAN. By Lewis Gibbs. London : Dent. 1947. 15s.

To write a sound biography of Sheridan, one must move with ease through a period which, from a social, political and literary standpoint, is as complicated as it is interesting ; one must also have the power of reconciling, by intuitive sympathy, the many facets of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's character and activities, so that the whole man may come to life against the contemporary background. This is what Mr. Lewis Gibbs has achieved. He provides us with no cut-and-dried conclusions. Rather he offers, in all its varied richness, the entire range of Sheridan's life.

It would have been easy to coarsen the outline into the conventional picture of the brilliant and reckless Irishman. All the constituents are there for such a caricature. There is the young Sheridan, gay, gifted, penniless, romantic in appearance, full of charm ; Sheridan the lover, who elopes with and marries the beautiful Elizabeth Linley ; Sheridan the playwright who, in the brief space of five years, makes and abandons his classic reputation as a dramatist ; Sheridan the theatre manager, whose machinations and financial acrobatics defy comprehension ; Sheridan the politician, who for thirty-five years remains in the Opposition ; and finally " Old Sheridan " or " poor Sherry," his Micawberish optimism not quite vanished, starving, dying in a squalid garret.

But Mr. Gibbs escapes the snare. He maintains as unique and individual the essence of this highly gifted and erratic human being. And he marks this individuation by showing the curious anomalies in attitude and behaviour which are the external signs of Sheridan's essential, integral self. Inconsistencies Mr. Gibbs does not show us, because he is aware that every man is consistent in relation with his own mind and character. This is a sensitive and finely balanced book which must enhance Mr. Gibbs's reputation as a writer.

B. G. MACCARTHY

THE DRAMATIC CAREER OF ARTHUR MURPHY. By Howard Hunter Dunbar. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1947. 21s.

IN America, if not in these islands, the significance of Arthur Murphy as a playwright of the eighteenth century is not undervalued. Some months ago a review of Mr. John P. Emery's *Arthur Murphy* appeared in this Journal (September, 1947). It is unnecessary to repeat now the general facts of Arthur Murphy's life which were set out by the present writer in that appraisal. Mr. Dunbar's book is sound and meticulous, and is so well written and documented as to offer interesting and instructive reading. It should prove of permanent value in re-establishing the half-forgotten achievements of a versatile Irishman. Is Arthur Murphy one more illustration of the proverb "No one a prophet in his own country?"

B. G. MACCARTHY

CELTICA

SIR PERCYVELLE: Its Irish Connections. By Sheila Joyce McHugh. Ann Arbor (Michigan): Edward Brothers. 1946. Pp. vii+87.

Laoidh an Amadáin Mhóir, "The Lay of the Big Fool," has been included by two editors, John O'Daly in 1861 and Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha in 1941, in their collections of Fenian lays. It is a puzzling lay in many respects, for though Ossianic in form it is not Ossianic in theme. It tells how a Big Fool who had conquered the kingdoms of the world—"not by the might of shield or blades, but by the strength of his limbs and his two hands"—won a wife for himself from the King of Lochlainn. Accompanied by his wife he met a *gruagach* in a glen. The *gruagach* gave him drink from a golden goblet. The drink made the Big Fool lose his legs from the knees down. A deer pursued by a white red-eared hound is next killed by the Big Fool. The owner of the hound, a *gruagach*, arrives and has a dispute with the Big Fool about the possession of the hound, but ultimately lets the Big Fool keep both the slain deer and the hound. The Big Fool, his wife, and the *gruagach* then go to the *gruagach's* castle. There the Big Fool is given the task of watching over the *gruagach's* wife while the *gruagach* hunts. A stranger arrives and kisses the *gruagach's* wife. Though bribed by having his feet magically restored and by promises of other benefits, the Big Fool is true to his obligation to the *gruagach* and will not let the stranger escape. The stranger reveals himself as the *gruagach* in disguise. He reveals that he is identical too with the *gruagach* who had given the Big Fool the magic drink which had deprived him of his feet. Everything he had done was to test the Big Fool, whose brother he claims to be. As a result of their meeting the *gruagach* declares himself "free from the enchantment of the goblet". Together the *gruagach* and the Big Fool defeat certain giants and take possession of their wealth.

The lay used to be introduced in popular oral tradition by prose accounts of the birth, rearing, and early adventures of the Big Fool. Among these folk accounts is a Scottish one, published by J. F. Campbell in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, III (1892), p. 160 *sq.* It would seem to be related both to Arthurian traditions of the

birth, rearing, and first adventures of Sir Perceval, and also to Irish folk and literary traditions of the birth, rearing, and early adventures of Fionn mac Cumhaill. Another account, a Kerry tale, published by Curtin in his *Hero-tales of Ireland* (1894), p. 140 *sq.*, is a variant of the international folktale of the Strong Man who is set tasks with the object of bringing about his destruction[1].

In *Lia Fáil* (II, 1927), pp. 191–228, Dr. Hyde and Mr. T. Rafferty published an Early Modern Irish literary prose tale, entitled *Eachtra an Amadáin Mhóir*, from two eighteenth-century Irish manuscripts. This tale is definitely Arthurian in character. It clearly borrows from the Perceval legend in its opening part, adds several unidentified incidents, and ends with a prose variant of the story of the Lay.

" What is the connection between the tale and the lay? " wrote Dr. Hyde in Irish at the end of his introductory remarks to the *Lia Fáil* edition (p. 193), " Which of them is the older? On what are they both based? Those are questions which we will now leave to others, especially to investigators of the Arthurian legend."

Dr. Ludwig Mühlhausen, in an article entitled *Neue Beiträge zum Perceval-Thema*, published in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, XVII (1928), pp. 1–30, studied the relationship of Campbell's folktale to both the Perceval legend and the prose *Eachtra*. He decided that Campbell's folktale represented native Gaelic development of the Celtic material on which the Perceval legend is based. The *Eachtra* he held to be literary working up of this Gaelic folktale on the model of the Perceval legend. The relationship of the Lay to the *Eachtra* and the folktales he left untouched as a problem needing separate discussion.

Dr. Mühlhausen's thesis, though well argued, has not convinced all readers, some of whom have felt that the Scottish folktale might better be explained as a simplified version of the *Eachtra*, with omission of the Arthurian names, which were foreign to Gaelic folk tradition. Both it and the *Eachtra* would on this hypothesis be interesting examples of the strange way in which continental themes are altered almost beyond recognition when they reach Ireland.

In her " *Sir Percyvelle* " *: Its Irish Connections* Miss Sheila Joyce McHugh deliberately neglects to discuss the work of her predecessors. " Since it is true," she writes (p.v.), " that Perceval scholarship is at present in a rather chaotic state, for the sake of clarity its findings have not been included in this study, nor have they been consulted in connection with it." Many readers will doubtless agree with the present reviewer in considering that Miss McHugh's booklet would have been more satisfactory if she had been a little less self-reliant. She ignores Dr. Mühlhausen's suggestion that the Scottish folktale is more original than the literary *Eachtra*. Except for a mere mention (on p. 69) of a general resemblance, she ignores Dr. T. F. O'Rahilly's suggestion[2] that the testing of the Big Fool by the *gruagach* in the Lay should be studied in its relationship to the somewhat similar testing of Sir Gawain in the fourteenth-century English poem of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Sir Gawain won the approval of the magic Green Knight, in whose power he was, by refusing to be unchaste with the Green Knight's wife while the Green Knight was absent hunting and by faithfully, in accordance with a compact, letting the Green Knight know what had happened. The Big Fool, in the power of a magic *gruagach*, similarly wins that *gruagach's* approbation by faithfully fulfilling the task of guarding the chastity of the *gruagach's* wife while the *gruagach* was supposed to be absent hunting. Both Sir Gawain and the Big Fool are being tested. Moreover the Lay of the Big Fool ends with the disenchantment of the *gruagach* ; and G. L. Kittredge, in his *Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (1916), pp. 81, 115, holds that the type of story on which the temptation episode in that poem was ultimately based ended in similar disenchantment of the prototype of the Green Knight. The Gawain

[1] No. 650 in Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's *Types of the Folktale*.
[2] *Gaelic Journal*, XIX (1909) p. 356.

episode would therefore seem to be much closer to the Big Fool episode than is the Old Irish episode of Lomna Drúth from Cormac's Glossary,[3] to which Miss McHugh devotes several pages of her monograph. The relationship of Finn to Lomna Drúth is quite different from that of the *gruagach* to the Big Fool, and there is no question of Finn's testing Lomna Drúth's fidelity.

Miss McHugh likewise neglects to discuss the arguments advanced by Miss Jessie L. Weston in 1897[4] for a close connection between the Fair Unknown tradition and Perceval tradition. Yet Miss McHugh uses both these traditions in tracing Arthurian influence on the Irish tradition of the Big Fool. The very fact that they have both influenced the Big Fool tradition gives added force to Miss Weston's suggestion concerning a mysterious connection between them, and renders comment on that connection desirable for better understanding of the original sources of the Big Fool story.

In spite of these drawbacks Miss McHugh's monograph contains a wealth of information and is on the whole well argued, though undoubtedly here and there that desire for " clarity " of which she herself has spoken (p.v.) has led her to make parallels appear more striking in her tabular summaries than they really are in the original texts. On p. 32, for instance, two episodes from the Big Fool story have been silently removed from their true position in the original text to make them seem parallel to vaguely similar episodes which occur at a different stage of the Perceval story. Miss McHugh cannot, however, be accused of concealing the truth ; for those readers who do not confine themselves to the tabular summary of motifs, where this change is effected, will find the incidents in their true place in the longer analysis which precedes the tabular summary.

When Miss McHugh, after a clear presentation of the main facts, concludes (p. 80) that " the Irish *Macgnímartha Finn* represents the Perceval *enfances* in its fledgling stage," no Irish scholar is likely to differ seriously from her. Indeed the same conclusion was already reached many years ago by the late A. C. L. Brown, to whose fundamental treatise on the subject[5] the author, in accordance with her policy, does not refer. Miss McHugh has also clearly demonstrated that the early part of the prose *Eachtra* is connected with *Macgnímartha Finn* both indirectly, through the Perceval story, and directly by reason of the Irish storymaker's familiarity with the Fionn cycle. Here she differs from Dr. Mühlhausen only in so far as she silently assumes that Campbell's folktale is a broken-down variant of the *Eachtra*.

The Lay is shown by Miss McHugh to have several motifs in common with the eleventh-century Welsh story of Pwyll and with Arthurian tales about the Fair Unknown. She perhaps over-stresses a vague resemblance in some motifs to the story of Lomna Drúth, but is doubtless right in holding that the author of the Lay would have identified his *gruagach* with Manannán. Here too, then, Miss McHugh is justified in seeing the union of native Celtic tradition with Arthurianized Celtic tradition.

It is to be hoped that some day Miss McHugh will carry her investigations further. There are many motifs in the *Eachtra* with the origins of which she has not dealt, nor have the differences between various versions of the Lay been discussed by her. Indeed Miss McHugh seems to be unaware of the long version published by Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha in 1941[6]. Discussion of the Gawain temptation motif and of the relationship of the Fair Unknown tradition to the Perceval theme might help to guide us with greater certainty to the sources which have contributed to the formation of both *Eachtra* and Lay. Discussion of the relation of Curtin's Big Fool tale[7]

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3 Sub voce *Orc*.
4 See her *Legend of Sir Gawain*, p. 55 *sq*.
5 See *Modern Philology*, XVIII (1920–1921), p. 201 *sq*.
6 *Laoithe na Féinne*, pp. 288–302.
7 *Hero-tales of Ireland*, pp. 140–162.

to Irish variants of the international tale of the Strong Man might perhaps help in solving the question why Perceval (or the Fair Unknown) is represented in Ireland by a Big Fool : this question has not been touched upon by Miss McHugh in her monograph. A complete study should also include criticism of Dr. Mühlhausen's opinion concerning the wholly native origin of Campbell's tale.

In the meantime, while awaiting further investigation, students of the strange Irish legend of the Big Fool will find sure guidance on many points in Miss McHugh's monograph. The considerations which lead to its conclusions are clearly presented, and its admirable bibliographical notes, analyses, summaries, and comparisons will lighten the task of future investigators. Miss McHugh is therefore to be congratulated on the positive achievement of this, her first essay in the fascinating field of Arthurian scholarship.

G. Murphy

Economics

THE PHANTOM OF PLENTY. By George O'Brien. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1948. 4s. 6d.

During the inter-war years a slogan became very popular with socialists and monetary reformers : " Poverty amidst Plenty." There was just sufficient amount of truth in it to secure for it ready acceptance by the superficially educated type of citizen that our modern newspapers, digests, and cheap series produce. Either horn of the pseudo-dilemma could have been seized and twisted off. What was the extent of " poverty " ? Five per cent. ? ten per cent. ? in our western economies. How much of that was due to the deliberate free action of men who would not work, but who would drink or bet or try to get rich quick ? How much due to deliberate restriction of the productive processes by private agreement, ca' canny and the like ? How much due to governmental interference, tariffs and quotas ? How much due to wilful waste in peace, wilful destruction in war or wilful withdrawal of men and materials for preparation for war ? And, indeed, what was " poverty " ? " Man needs but little here below nor needs that little long."

And as for " plenty " ? Where was the " plenty " ? The actual existing " plenty " was either a relatively small margin of annual " over-production " of a very few commodities—coffee, maize, wheat—or else an equally small, relatively, accumulation of wealth or income in the hands of a few people. The surplus held by these people, if evenly distributed, would not raise the level of the community appreciably and would in all probability have reduced productivity and wiped out all surplus in a few years. But there was enough " plenty," enough luxury and extravagance among a few, enough destitution among an equally few to catch the imagination and shock the sensibilities of a certain type of shallow and materialistically minded man. Such a violent contrast and disparity between the extremes of a society should not, of course, be complacently acquiesced in. But it was not sufficient ground to justify the innuendo contained in the slogan " Poverty amidst Plenty " or indeed any other attempts to arouse the envious passions of men and enkindle the spirit of class-war.

But many who used the slogan were thinking more of *actual* poverty amidst *potential* plenty. And they used the word " poverty " in a wide sense, meaning " having much less all round of material goods than we could have and having to work too hard for that much less". These were on a stronger—and much more ethical—platform than the former. A common enough argument of monetary reformers was that a release of " social credit " and its proper use would raise immensely the productivity of a country and, while making the " poor " rich, would leave the " rich " still rich or even richer than ever. Incidentally, they appealed

to high ethical issues on the question of interest and usury. But their main contention was that we were all being content with too low a material standard of life, and that an abolition of interest and of inheritance would raise productivity. If the State made itself responsible for all savings—their quantity and rate—and took away from the individual all incentives to save, such as interest on money or power to leave money by will, then credit could be allocated " free " to desirable projects and hidden reserves of talent and energy would be tapped.

Their case was never very convincing either in gross or in detail and was sometimes presented in an almost ludicrous form. But Professor O'Brien's book has effectively twisted off the horn of " potential plenty " from the dilemma of " poverty amidst plenty". His thesis is clearly stated on page 9 : " It may be perhaps conceded that, in the wealthier industrial countries, the problem of want in the narrow sense has been largely if not wholly solved. But this is a very different thing from saying that the age of plenty has arrived or is within sight. There is a world of difference between abolishing degrading want and abolishing poverty in the wider sense. Even assuming that no person need starve, the number of wants that can only be partially satisfied or not satisfied at all still remains enormous. Plenty and abundance prevail only in a very small area of the economic field, and there are reasons to believe that any attempt to extend that area will encounter obstacles that may make the process a very difficult one."

It is the object of Professor O'Brien's book to set forth these reasons, and it does so clearly and persuasively, even though at the end a reader may not be completely convinced. But the arguments are so well marshalled that it may be that this book will prove a most powerful advocate for state socialism. It would be ironic, if this happened ; for Professor O'Brien makes, in his conclusion, a powerful case for liberty. " One of the most tragic errors of the modern world," he writes on page 73, " is the disposition to sacrifice liberty for material gain, to obtain security at the price of serfdom to a totalitarian State. It is impossible to agree too heartily with those who warn the world that free political institutions are the most priceless of all goods, that they have been established after centuries of hard endeavour, that they are inclined to be taken for granted and that, if neglected or unguarded, they may easily disappear."

But it may be that the very cogency of this book's argument in establishing the phantom-nature of plenty in the future will be used to frighten men into giving the State wide powers to secure whatever sufficiency can be secured. If we are facing a pressure of population on scarce resources, if we are facing a progressive decline in our standard of living, if plenty is a phantom and poverty is a reality and likely to grow more real than ever, then men will be inclined to surrender a certain degree of liberty to secure at least a material sufficiency. The truer Professor O'Brien's thesis is and the more powerfully he argues, the more likely will it be used as an argument for entrusting more responsibility to the State. When the republic is in danger, let the consuls see to it. If private enterprise has done its best, shot its bolt, and henceforward we can only expect a fall rather than a rise in material prosperity, then one of the great justifications of private enterprise has vanished. So long as it delivered the goods in ever-increasing quantities and at ever-dropping prices, its defects might be tolerated. But if we are finished with " plenty " and heading for relative " poverty," its chances of survival are small. If the goose is going to lay smaller and smaller golden eggs—and possibly end up with cupro-nickel ones—its neck will be sadly in jeopardy.

Professor O'Brien recognizes on page 12 that when resources are scarce, their " allocation can be arranged by the decree of some authority strong enough to enforce its decisions". And he goes on at once to say : " This is the method employed in most primitive societies and, in modern times, during wars and

emergencies." His whole book is an argument that, in the more or less remote future, we shall be permanently in a state of scarcity equal at least to that which wars and emergencies have produced in modern times. If this thesis is true, then we may anticipate the like re-action to such scarcity—and goods will be allocated by decree, by ration-cards and quotas and licences, and personal liberty will be no more.

But, as Professor O'Brien says on page 2: "It is always well not to expect too much. One is in less danger of being disappointed. The surest way of avoiding disillusionment is to harbour no illusions." Later on he says: "The conclusion that there is an upward limit to the material improvement of society should not induce pessimism." But if such a limit is going to produce more and more loss of liberty, there is every ground for pessimism. We ought not to harbour any illusions about this or we certainly shall be disappointed. For it is precisely the possibility of liberty that Professor O'Brien holds before us as a solace and comfort. "Political liberty is a much greater treasure than any possible increment of money income." But if once a community has got used to a certain standard of material comfort, above all if it sees this comfort provided more and more by "social services," then a threat to that comfort will possibly drive the citizens into surrendering or the vigorous bureaucrats and dictators into seizing the more precious liberties of man. This unfortunately is, at least, as arguable a thesis as Professor O'Brien's.

His thesis is most calmly, objectively and soundly argued. It is true that he looks upon it as not an immediately urgent problem. It is more of a speculative academic discussion, giving him an opportunity of enunciating and explaining in a lucid and charming way some of the fundamental principles and laws of economics. He puts himself forward as contemplating "the still greater difficulties of the long run—that long run in which, as Lord Keynes comfortably remarked, we shall all be dead." With a Lucretian memory of "suave mari magno . . . . ," he suggests that we may be helped "to endure our present misfortunes with resignation" by considering that "other ages are not likely to be much more fortunate". Hardly the highest source from which to draw fortitude; but let that pass in the introductory humorous remarks of a "popular lecture"—which the author, quite wrongly, fears may be "unpopular". Nor will the fact that "the world is simply passing from one ice age to another" be a very great consolation to present sufferers. "Thinking on the frozen Caucasus" is not a sovereign remedy for the fever.

In putting his case so forcibly and piling up his reasons so insistently, Professor O'Brien has produced both an exceptionally interesting and an exceptionally suggestive book. The reader must learn a great deal about economic analysis and argumentation from it. "I have striven to avoid causing any immediate anxiety among my audience," says the author. But one is reminded of the garden scene in Pickwick. "Then what can you want to do now?" said the old lady, gaining courage. "I wants to make your flesh creep," replied the Fat Boy. For it is, in Churchillian words, a sombre and a sobering picture that Professor O'Brien paints.

And yet, and yet—a small gleam of doubt, a watery ray of sunshine strikes across one's mind. The immortal Mr. Oliver Edwards's cheerfulness comes breaking through despite all one's efforts to be suitably gloomy and subdued. A walk in Stephen's Green on a golden sunny morning with its tulips and wall-flowers and peaceful ducks; an hour in the National Gallery amid its diverse beauties; a fourpenny tram to Dun Laoghaire and the sea and the hills; an evening in any public library; a conversation over a pint in a pub—for how very, very little in hard cash can a man summon up this "phantom of plenty" and be content with it—phantom and all as it is or must be. "I wasna fou, but just had plenty," sang Robert Burns on the bridge at Tarbelton when he had been thrown out of the inn that moonlit night. The normal man, even in teeming China, is fortunately not quite blood-brother to the little boy who maintained, as he lingered at the party tea-table, "I'm

not hungry but, thank God, I am greedy." We can thank God that our happiness does not depend on our being greedy. Alexander had asked Diogenes " if he lacked anything." Not, let us notice, if he had " plenty " but " if he lacked anything ". " Yes, that I do : that you stand out of my sun a little."

No ; men do not in real life pursue that " phantom of plenty " of which Professor O'Brien writes. They are content with the very substantial plenty which the vast majority of them, even in the most backward countries, actually have. " Enough is as good as a feast "—and very little of these material goods are " enough " for any man who is a man and has learned to discipline his desires and even his wants and needs. It is not " plenty " that men pursue : it is content. And content is not difficult to achieve with very frugal material comfort, if a man has self-respect and knowledge of what he is. Even if he hasn't, he has often found the absence of " plenty " no hindrance.

" Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse, and Thou
Beside me singing in the wilderness,
The wilderness is Paradise anow."

E. J. COYNE

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

A FRAGMENT ON GOVERNMENT AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALS AND LEGISLATION. By Jeremy Bentham. Edited with an Introduction by Wilfrid Harrison. Oxford : Basil Blackwell. 1948. 9s. 6d. net.

THIS excellent edition of two works of Jeremy Bentham will be welcomed by students to whom hitherto they have not been so easily available. The value of this edition is enhanced by the admirable introduction of Mr. Wilfrid Harrison, who gives us the accurate information about the scope of these two works which the student of Bentham requires. For the fact is that Bentham has been overshadowed and obscured by " Benthamism," a system in many ways different from his own. " It was a selection of Bentham's ideas and not the whole of his ideas that entered into Benthamism." The historical influence of Bentham was due to his disciples, to the Utilitarians who constructed an organised philosophy which was very different from the hints and suggestions thrown out by Bentham himself. One inevitably thinks of Benthamism in the form given to it by John Stuart Mill or Henry Sidgwick. Mr. Harrison enables us to get back to the genuine Bentham, who was not either a psychologist or a moral philosopher, to whom theoretical politics was merely incidental. " He was a reforming lawyer, and he found in Hume, Hartley and Helvetius suggestions for methods that seemed sufficient for his purpose."

Mr. Harrison, without exaggerating his merits, makes as good a case for Bentham as can be made. Bentham was not one of the " builders of a great ' system ' of theory. He moved somewhat jerkily from subject to subject and by no means always within the field of politics ; his mind penetrated a short distance here, a greater or lesser distance there ; he was interested unevenly in different topics and followed up some ideas and not others." Bentham " abounds in fallacies " ; but he is worth reading, Mr. Harrison suggests, for his occasional flashes of insight. These, I fancy, are not sufficiently frequent to attract many readers. But professional students will study him for his historical importance as the founder of a school which exercised a potent influence in the nineteenth century.

Mr. Harrison does not emphasise Bentham's oddity, his curious inventions and practical suggestions, and he seems to think that something may be said even for his famous " Panopticon " or universal prison-house—for has it not worked in Illinois

and Cuba? Bentham, he thinks, was himself not unaware of the difficulties inherent in the calculus of pleasures. There was something attractive in the idea that all problems in law and morals could be decided by the application of a single principle —the greatest happiness (in the sense of pleasure) of the greatest number. Or perhaps one should add the second principle—possibly incompatible with the first—that every man is to count for one and no one for more than one in the calculus of pleasure. Bentham was supremely lacking in philosophical insight. And a theory like Utilitarianism could flourish only in a period when metaphysical speculation was at a very low ebb. After denouncing intuitions, Bentham is forced to resort to them himself. As Sidgwick later insisted, Hedonism can only be made to seem coherent if it rests on fundamental intuitions. But the principle that nothing is valuable except pleasure has no plausibility. Pleasure is too superficial to fill the role laid out for it by Benthamism. It is, of course, most important to work out the precise place of pleasure in human conduct. And as a reaction against a puritanical environment it is important to emphasise the fact that pleasure is *a* value. But it is fatal to regard it as the supreme value. It is not the essence of the good life, although, as St. Thomas points out, it is an inseparable accident of it.

What is most surprising both in Bentham and in his followers is the way in which they assume that their method of calculating pleasures and pains *does* give genuine information about law and morality. There is more in this than mere superficial psychology. It now seems obvious even to common sense that no such calculation can be made. To reckon the hedonic results of even the simplest actions is a matter of such complexity that even a beginning cannot be made.

The conflict between egoism and altruism is another fundamental difficulty. In case of conflict why should I sacrifice my own pleasure to that of others? To answer that such conflicts never occur seems entirely unplausible, although this is the answer given by John Stuart Mill. Sidgwick realised that it is an obvious fact of experience that such conflicts do occur and thought that no reconciliation of egoism and altruism is possible except on the assumption of providence and a future state.

Mr. Harrison does not go into the question of Bentham's attack on natural rights as it is not important in connection with the two works published in this edition. Here again Bentham's attack is more rhetorical than philosophical. And although Bentham's contemporaries had put the theory in a form which favoured individuals, there is little attraction for the modern mind in an attack which may seem to give undue support to the State. A correct theory of natural rights is a matter of much more delicate adjustment than either Bentham or his opponents realised.

D. O'K.

DECADENCE. A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY. By C. E. M. Joad. London: Faber and Faber. 1947. 12s. 6d.

Dr. Joad is always an entertaining writer when he gets away from the air of trifling with serious problems which marks *The Book of Joad,* but which has progressively disappeared from his later works. Moreover he manifests not merely a genuine interest in philosophy, but a native capacity for metaphysics which might have carried him to a high place in the history of thought if only he had served a proper apprenticeship to it. To this must be added a literary craftsmanship that fascinates the reader. What he wants to say he can say with amazing lucidity and force. His philosophy might be styled " philosophy without tears " if only we could be sure that he *had* a philosophy—that is, a complete, coherent, consistent system of thought which gave the answers to the questions men have asked themselves in the past and are recommencing to ask themselves now after some two centuries of indifference to abstract pursuits.

Dr. Joad has one shining merit. He is telling contemporaries that the mental sciences cannot be just thrown out of doors as the pursuit of the unknowable by maundering old priests or professors, who ought to be press-ganged and put to growing potatoes or some other economically useful pursuit. A warm admirer of G. B. Shaw, he would agree with him that " there is no surer symptom of a sordid and fundamentally stupid mind, however powerful it may be in practical activities, than a contempt for metaphysics." In his *Philosophy for Our Times*, Dr. Joad deplored the fact that this cultivated disdain, as it was in the nineteenth century, has now resulted in the total neglect of philosophical formation of any kind. Even higher education has no place in its curriculum for formal training in the science of thought itself. He tells us that youth to-day—which for a time after the First World War went crazy over Marxism—sits now disillusioned and embittered, with no intellectual interests beyond the pursuit of pleasure, power and immediate gain. Deeply affected by this unhealthy attitude, he sought and in the book under review once more seeks to wean men from this Pilate indifference towards truth.

In his new work *Decadence*, Dr. Joad not only deplores the present attitude of youth towards life and its meaning, but he is becoming alarmed by it. Yet he manfully strives once again to expose what he believes to be the cause of the loss of faith not only in religion but in reason ; for he is a rationalist in the best sense of the word. He believes in the cognitive faculty of the mind—in its power to know, truly and really, something. The complete relativism which has come to permeate opinion is for him anathema. And this gives a value to his pages which, in his later years at least, makes him a decided influence for good. Further, he brings to the task an admirable industry. There is hardly a modern intellectual movement that he does not explore with insight, expound with clarity, criticise with acumen. If sweet reasonableness be the key to persuasion, Dr. Joad should open the closed doors of many underground shelters where panic-stricken ideologists hide away from the light of common day—and common sense. But though there are pages, and even whole chapters, in his works which are quite remarkable for their originality, force and cogency, there are others where the lack of completeness in his equipment leads to hesitancy and even error in his conclusions—and to conclusions that are sometimes dumbfounding. One example must suffice.

Chapter XIV is entitled " Specialisation and Decadence". The reading of it is sheer delight. It is a discussion in which one of the most head-splitting of modern pedagogical problems is handled with a freshness and insight the reader cannot help admiring all the way. Much that Dr. Joad says is almost evidentially true. Specialisation is absolutely demanded by the present extension of knowledge. The old definition of a cultured man as one who knows everything about something and something about everything has long ceased to have any validity. There is now a vast chasm between the specialist and the man-in-the-street. To bridge this chasm Dr. Joad pleads for the middle-man, the *vulgarisateur*. At all times a help to mental apathy the *vulgarisateur* has become a necessity in our highly complicated society, which would like to know where it stands and yet cannot control either the knowledge or the capacity or the moral integrity of its technicians—one reason being that it cannot follow them at all. Somebody must step down the high voltage cable to the capacity of the bulbs in the heads of the many. In the small city-state—Athens, Florence, Genoa and the like—every cultured man was able to dispense with the services of an intermediary ; but in the vast museums of to-day, where knowledge is amassed, sorted, filed, indexed, dehydrated, put in cold storage and piled—Ossa on Pelion and both on Olympus—the cicerone or manuductor replaces the professor.

We all need the *vulgarisateur* or popularizer, yet note the one whom Dr. Joad selects for glorification : " The writer who in our own time has been most successful in popularizing science by explaining the relation of science to affairs and so of

making his contemporaries ' scientifically minded ' is H. G. Wells. Wells provided in the highest sense the work of a *vulgarisateur*. It was not only science that he explained to common men but history and economics. He took all contemporary problems for his province and tried to show man's present relation to his past and to indicate his future, which he foresaw as a future of self-destruction unless he can learn to control his powers before it is too late. Wells performed a service for his times which exceeded that of all his contemporaries ; yet to such an extent is our society enslaved to the concept of specialisation that his educational work went academically unhonoured. An F.R.S. would surely have been appropriate ; it is difficult to see why he should not have been accorded an O.M. He did more to enlighten the mind and dispel the ignorance of his contemporaries than any of those whom the State and the Universities delight to honour " (p. 364).

I call this dumbfounding, because in the present volume Dr. Joad himself does more " to enlighten the mind and dispel the ignorance of his contemporaries " than was ever achieved by the ideologue Wells—it is a misuse of language to style him a philosopher. Wells has done nothing but darken the waters like a cuttle-fish and help on, with atheistic enthusiasm, the complete disorientation of the modern mind. Dr. Joad once belonged to those *clercs* whose *trahison* was spreading the miasma of universal scepticism. But he has always shown a commendable modesty and a measure of natural humility which have enabled him to criticise even himself. The result is that he has made his way through much of the Cerbonian bog which lay between him and the gates of Eden. One must read his later volumes to follow him in his wanderings and to detect his advance. Once an atheist, he first moved on to a curious revival of the old Manichaean conception of two transcendental principles of good and evil, locked in unending and inconclusive conflict. In the present work he has reached what is surely higher ground. Having exposed the fallacies of the various pseudo-sciences—which, starting from the preconceptions of materialism, went on to explain the human psyché by explaining it away—Dr. Joad summarises his conclusions. This he does lucidly and effectively, and herein precisely lies the value of his pages. He reaches in the end a standpoint which constitutes a triumph of integrity and ability ; he has courageously traversed many stages of his pilgrim's progress *e tenebris in lucem*. Let us quote a few sentences from his summary :—

" Man seems to me to be sinful and, in part, evil ; and his nature contains no necessary assurance of increasing reasonableness and righteousness. Also, I do not think he can advance as a reasonable and spiritual—that is to say as a distinctively *human*—being except help be given him from outside. Man's further advance depends, in fact, upon the inpouring of grace which is vouchsafed to him by the divine author of his being. It comes then for me to this, that the answer which we should give to the question I have asked depends in the last resort upon the view which we take of religion." Dr. Joad then appends a tabulated summary of his present philosophical position :—" (1) There is an immaterial world which is other than the familiar world we know by means of our senses . . . . (2) This world is neither temporal nor spatial . . . . (3) Among the most eminent of the non-temporal non-spatial realities are values. They are eternal, and the full knowledge and consciousness of value and of God, who is its source, is the true end of the soul. (4) The values are manifested in the world of sensory changing things, and we can therefore attain to some knowledge of them, even in our present condition. (5) It is the revelation of the realm of value in the world of everyday life that, throughout this book, I have called ' object '. I have maintained that the ' object ', so conceived, is not a product of human consciousness and is not instrumental to life or a means to life's improvement. The ' object ' is the end rather than the means in the sense that to know the ' object ' more fully and to pursue it more intensely is the true purpose of a life rightly lived."

By and large, therefore, Dr. Joad in this volume shows once more than when he devotes himself to earnest research in philosophy, he is capable of cutting his way through most of the barbed-wire entanglements behind which modern unbelief has entrenched itself. In his climb towards truth, he has reached a position of which the logical outcome is the full and firm theodicy of the Schools ; he has reached the vestibule of the faith. It will be a tragedy for himself and a great bewilderment to many puzzled pilgrims in the wilderness, if he does not cross the threshold and end, where all roads proverbially end, in Rome.

P. J. GANNON

HISTORY

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. By Dom David Knowles. Cambridge : University Press. 1948. 30s.

EIGHT years ago Dom David Knowles published his volume on *The Monastic Order in England*, bringing the story of English Benedictine and Augustinian monasticism down to the date of the Fourth Lateran Council (1216). That volume revealed the powers of a scholar who is at once immensely learned in the whole wide range of monastic institutions and singularly sensitive to the human and spiritual side of monastic life. In this new volume the same scholar carries the story from the death of Innocent III in 1216 to the years immediately preceding the disaster of the Black Death ; but the story is no longer limited to the strictly monastic orders, whether White or Black Monks, White or Black Canons. The advent of the friars is by far the most important event in the religious history of thirteenth-century England, and Dr. Knowles has devoted almost half of this volume to a survey of their activity in England. Within the limits of this section of his book, almost half the available space is given to the Friars Minor, and rightly so. For the work, both intellectual and spiritual, of such men as Adam Marsh and his great patron, Bishop Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Archbishop Pecham, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham, makes the history of the English Franciscan province one of the most fascinating chapters in the long story of England's religious history.

Those who have read *The Monastic Order in England* will miss the attractive series of monastic reformers and scholars—Saint Dunstan, Saint Wulfstan, Saint Hugh of Lincoln, Saint Anselm of Canterbury, Ailred of Rievaulx, Henry of Blois, Samson of Bury—whose portraiture was so skilfully attempted in that first volume. It is never easy to account for the subtle changes of fortune or policy, of nature or grace, which from time to time give one or other religious order that ardent and fruitful vitality which finds its highest expression in the lives of the Church's saints. That special charisma of youthful joy and fervour is missing from the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dr. Knowles has attempted no more than one full-length portrait in this volume: Henry of Eastry, who was prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, from 1285 to 1331 and whose name is perpetuated in Bell Harry Tower which still dominates Canterbury Cathedral. (The tower itself is of later date, but its name is derived from the great bell which was cast and hung in the priorate of Henry of Eastry). From the account here given of his life's work he comes before us as a supremely competent administrator : " stiff, dry and masterful, a great high farmer and superbly able man of business". Many hundreds of letters and documents have survived from his time, but they are wholly concerned with the temporal administration of the monastery's possessions : " of spiritual or even of religious feeling there is no trace in the Eastry letters". How different was the monastic world of St. Wulfstan or Saint Hugh or Saint Anselm !

Students of English economic history will find here an absorbingly interesting analysis of changes that were taking place in the nature and scope of English agriculture during this classic period of monastic high farming. Dr. Knowles had worked

for some years in close association with that brilliant young Cambridge student, R. A. L. Smith, whose early death leaves a gap not easily filled by others : some of the finest chapters in this new volume are substantially a restatement of the conclusions which Smith had set forth in one or other of his scattered papers on English monastic finance. But there is here something more than a restatement of another man's conclusions. Dr. Knowles has evidently worked through the surviving archives of one great monastery (Glastonbury) which had not been studied in detail by the younger scholar ; and he brings to his task a sense of the beauty and rich quality of English landscape which gives life to what might otherwise have been a dry analysis. " Richer even than Christ Church, Glastonbury held a varied and not dissimilar mass of manors. There were the short, sweet grasses of the embanked shore-pastures between Brent Knoll and Burnham, the rich soil of the islands in the meres and the summer-dry fields between Banwell and Taunton, the arable on the slopes of the Poldens and the Mendips, the hillside sheepwalks above Wells, or between Wincanton and Shaftesbury." A scholar to whom the English scene is so vividly present is singularly well equipped to tell the story of that silent economic revolution by which the agrarian economy of medieval England was changed from scattered groups of self-sufficient manors to the planned, capitalistic high farming of a more ambitious and scientific age, with its highly centralised administration, its systematic exploitation of the land's products for markets that were no longer local, and its conscious effort to build up great estates in which each element of a balanced economy should be acquired and held for the financial benefit of the monastic community.

More than once in this volume we are skilfully reminded that England's debt to these monastic high farmers is something that cannot be assessed merely in a profit and loss account. " For a short century the monastic order . . stood out, in this country at least, as a nurse of intelligent and broad-minded landowners who expected, indeed, to recover with interest the capital which they sank in the land, but who nevertheless played a part which neither peasant proprietors nor great lords pushing their fortunes could have done in increasing the resources of the soil and its cultivators. By their planting, their building, their enclosing and their draining they had a large share in preparing for this country's future wealth and in determining for future ages the soft and ordered opulence of the English country scene, with its byres and farms and cottages of lichened stone or warmer brick and thatch ; its hedgerows and its ditches thick with may and meadowsweet ; its noble trees shading the cattle from the sun that ripens the corn."

Of the more intimate side of this monastic life, of prayer and penance and almsgiving and study, far less is told in this volume than in its predecessor. The fault lies in the sudden and largely unexplained failure of the great stream of English monastic chroniclers. With the exception of St. Albans, where Matthew Paris and his school carry forward what had once been almost a nation-wide tradition, the chroniclers fail us just when we feel the need of some clearer insight into the domestic scene. It is part of that silent failure of monastic vitality which marks the whole of this period. The Franciscan chronicler, Thomas of Eccleston, tells a story that can be compared with any of the earlier chronicles of the eleventh or twelfth century ; but it is a story in which friars, not monks, take the leading part. A new source of information, authentic within its obvious limits, is now available in the long series of episcopal and monastic visitations which begin soon after the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. This volume gives an admirable and most helpful analysis of the complicated administrative machinery which produced the extant *Acta Visitationis* ; and it suggests some very sensible and human reasons why the regulations for internal monastic visitation—an innovation which the Black Monks and Black Canons took over from their younger contemporaries, the Cistercians and Pre-

monstratensians—were less effectual than the new decrees which empowered the diocesan bishops to exercise a right that had long been unused and hold formal visitations of the monasteries and convents within a diocese or province. Here again Franciscan zeal has left its mark on our records. The Franciscan Archbishop Pecham was more active than any of his predecessors in holding systematic visitations in his great province of Canterbury. But any student who has used the acts of a medieval visitation will appreciate the force of a warning which is here wisely repeated. Of its very nature an episcopal visitation deals normally with a few obvious and common faults in discipline. The picture we get from such documents will be full and informative when, as seems to have been the case in some of the more remote English houses of this period, religious discipline has become seriously relaxed and abuses are notorious. But the average episcopal visitation tells us little or nothing of the monastery's true spiritual life. " Omnia bene " is a convenient formula which may cover many minor peccadilloes, but which may also conceal a deep and genuinely fervent religious tradition.

I have left myself little space to deal with that section of this volume which is almost certain to attract widest attention. By education and instinct Dr. Knowles must he in closer sympathy with the monastic type of religious life than with the life of the friars ; but he has written, in the opening chapter of Part Two in this volume, an appreciation of the peculiar quality of the Franciscan ideal which is, I think, the best account so far given in English of that ever-fascinating movement. No student of English Franciscan history can forget the name of A. G. Little, to whom all later students owe generous tribute. But there was need of some competent and sympathetic survey of the whole Franciscan episode, bringing together in one wide survey all that has been learned in the past fifty years. That episode is at once deeply spiritual in its character and highly intellectual. Ever since Cardinal Ehrle and Father Denifle began their pioneer work on the history of scholasticism, students of medieval history have been taught again and again the profound significance of that long struggle between an older, more conservative Augustinianism and a new enthusiasm for the reasoned philosophy of Aristotle as revealed in contemporary translations and commentaries. In Paris Dominican influence became paramount, and the victory of Aristotle over Augustine was in the end decisive. At Oxford Franciscan influence gained an early and inspiring start, thanks to the epoch-making decision of Grosseteste who himself acted as tutor to the first Friars Minor at the University. Something more than intellectual progress was here at stake. Were the austere ideals of Saint Francis, with his high concept of total abnegation in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, to be interpreted so rigidly as to exclude all intellectual life and study? If study was admitted as part of the friar's vocation, was it possible for a Friar Minor to become absorbed in the dialectical controversies of the day without loss to the genuine spirit of Franciscan simplicity and poverty? These questions were inescapable, and they split the order into two rival groups. The English province, thanks to its first Provincial, Fra Agnello of Pisa (who had been chosen for the post by Saint Francis), was notably successful in its effort to combine devotion to the ideals of Saint Francis with a sincere and thorough-going devotion to the scientific study of truth. The influence of the Dominican friars on this new development is apparent from the first, and this volume tells once more the story of the Dominican school at Oxford and of the inevitable controversies between the two rival orders. There is also a short but penetrating study of Dominican government. A brief section is given to the Carmelite and Augustinian friars : neither of whom had attained any real prominence in English life during the century that precedes the Black Death.

One word of complaint in conclusion. The Carthusian tradition has meant so

much in English history, from Saint Hugh of Lincoln to Saint Thomas More and the London Charterhouse, that it seems a pity not to mention the Carthusian houses even once in a volume which professes to cover all the religious orders of medieval England.

A. G.

Studies in Architecture and Painting

GREATER ENGLISH CHURCH SCREENS. By Aylmer Vallance. London: Batsford. 1948. 30s.

STUART AND GEORGIAN CHURCHES OUTSIDE LONDON, 1603-1837. By Marcus Whiffen. London: Batsford. 1948. 18s.

Aylmer Vallance, dying in 1943, left in the hands of his literary executor, Edward Long, the almost completed text of this handsomely produced monograph, whose subject is the great rood and choir screens and other screenwork of the greater English churches, monastic and secular. It represents a life-times work of devoted scholarship; and its research, whether by observation or in its examination of inventories and other church records, seems to have been carried through, so far as a non-specialist may judge, with quite unusual care, exactitude and fulness. Its study is in a limited, clearly marked field, but the survey enriches a wide area of history and ecclesiology.

So many of these screens have been destroyed by iconoclastic fury and by the wanton or injudicious action of restorers that, as the author says, whosoever would learn what a medieval Rood looked like is driven to seek for examples abroad as at Kerfons (Brittany) or Lübeck (illustrated here) or in museums and galleries. The same or something similar may be said of rood-screens and choir screens in their entirety. A few splendid examples survive; but it requires the rich detail of the present text and the reproductions from early pictorial records and the one hundred and fifty photographs which confirm it to reconstitute them, even dimly, in their original elaborate and significant beauty.

Mr. Vallance's first chapter deals with the Rood itself, the Crucifix accompanied by figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John without which, to the sixteenth century, no Christian church in England, he says, was considered properly equipped. Suspended from the roof or fixed on a rood-beam it was the most prominent object meeting the eye of anyone entering the nave. Vallance traces its cult in England and the changes its form underwent, under the widespread influence of the long-robed Lucca crucifix, down to its fourteenth-century modifications when the *Dominus regnans a ligno* assumed more naturalistic treatment. He passes from this to a detailed and exhaustive survey of the rood-screen which crossed the nave at the western piers of the transept and of the pulpitum or choir-screen, painted or fashioned into niches with statues and canopies, enclosing the choir and forming its western boundary. Subsequent pages deal with the carved wood or stone parcloses which separated apsidal side-chapels and chantries, and the fine ironwork which under Jean Tijou's hammer reached a new luxuriance in his gates in St. Paul's. A summary cannot adequately suggest the abundance of historical, architectural and liturgical detail with which the author's subject is surrounded and on which his work bids fair to be the authoritative reference.

When we pass from its Catholic and medieval atmosphere to the church-building and decoration of later generations in England the temperature drops. Georgian styles are essentially secular; and though Mr. Whiffen's study of the architecture and fittings of Anglican churches include two chapters on the Stuart period, these chapters accentuate the feeling of a deliberate secularisation—affecting, of course, interiors even more than exteriors. From the reign of Edward VI, when a wooden

table—to be used presently in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields as a hat-stand—replaced the altar, the process was for generations continuous. With the removal of the Blessed Sacrament the essential focus disappeared. The preacher replaced the priest, and no such harmony between worship and preaching was arrived at as existed in the churches of the preaching orders. It was, on the contrary, deliberately avoided. The pulpit obscured the altar; the royal arms took the place of the rood-screen; and galleries and pews became integral parts of the church-auditorium. Public and family monuments cluttered the space of side-chapels and chantries; so that by the time that puritan austerity had mellowed to Georgian comfort and social convenience, one might well doubt if the Georgian church was dedicated to God, to the whig party or to the local squire.

Mr. Whiffen finds two main stylistic currents in the early English seventeenth-century: the one, a Gothic survival; the other, "a brand of classicism that may be distinguished as Flemish mannerism" which was, perhaps, the more pervasive because its decorative forms (Pl. 6 and 8), meaningless as compared with carved figures, were acceptable to the iconoclasts. In fact there was little new church-building until disrepair and Queen Anne made it obligatory, and until, after the Fire of London, Wren's eclectic building set headlines for the provinces. The present illustrates the variety, within a narrow compass, of this provincial architecture; and Mr. Whiffen introduces us to many of its little known architects and craftsmen. Some have their parallels or echoes here. One looks with particular interest at the Italianate church of Great Witley, Worcestershire, "the most sumptuous example of a full-blown co-interior in England". Roughly of the same date as the chapel of the Rotunda Hospital, its inferiority is evident; but the setting of the paintings attributed to Bellucci in the scheme of stucco decoration attributed to Bagutti gives a useful idea of what the Rotunda chapel ceiling would have looked like had Dr. Mosse's commission to Cipriani been carried through. There are a few references of Irish interest: as to the much travelled Dr. Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, who gets designs from Sanderson Miller in 1756 for his cathedral in Kilkenny; to John Aheron, from whose Dublin published *General Treatise of Architecture* a pattern-book church is reproduced here (its correct date 1754 is, I think, mis-stated); and to Philip Hardwick, who built St. John's, Limerick, and did other work for the Earl of Dunraven.

C. P. CURRAN

THE GROWTH OF TWELVE MASTERPIECES. By Charles Johnson. London: Phoenix House. 1948. 25s.

To see things in the germ is, by all accounts, wisdom; to see germs in things may, then, be accounted science, and it is under this head that Mr. Johnson's book falls. Its defined purpose is to indicate something of the process by which the finished masterpiece is disclosed as the final clarification of the vision that first inspired it. Painters of genius, Mr. Johnson says, have this one thing in common: that the experimental sketches and earlier versions of a theme are always regarded by them as partially obscured expressions of their initial intention and that each change made is not as a correction or afterthought but as a further uncovering of that first vision.

The generalisation is tempting but not always true. There are many cases in which the earlier version of a masterpiece is, in point of lucid expression, superior to the later; there are cases in which the later is superior; and there are cases within this second class where the superiority derives from the fact that the painter in his maturity directed himself as much to a new technical problem as to further clarification of an idea. An instance of the first class is Watteau's *Embarquement pour Cythère*. The Louvre version of the picture is earlier than the Berlin example. The Berlin variant is certainly elaborated to a further degree of finish and, com-

pared with it, the Louvre piece is a first draft, but it can hardly be suggested that Watteau's lyrical impulse is heightened in the later version : the added detail may embellish but it in no way clarifies the initial vision. Titian's *Crowning with Thorns* may stand for the third group where the painter's interest in a new problem of light rivals and fuses with his mature consideration of the theme.

The second class is well exemplified in El Greco's treatment of the *Purification of the Temple*, which is admirably illustrated and studied in one of Mr. Johnson's essays. This is a subject the painter treated many times in the course of over thirty years, and the London canvas is amongst the latest. Admittedly it is far superior to the versions painted in Italy when the painter was still dominated by his Venetian masters. But how far can it be truly said that the picture of 1570 expresses, however imperfectly, the intention of the pictures of 1600-1610 ? If one chooses to speak of visions, the later paintings are new and more authentic visions. They may be described more justly as the painter's return, in his maturity, to a familiar theme in the light of wider and deeper spiritual experience. El Greco's art, Mr. Johnson rightly says, is a protest against the treatment of religious themes in a secular spirit. His earlier versions of this subject are little more than secular illustrations, irrelevantly enriched with an abundance of classical beauty and with portraits of his friends and masters. In spirit and treatment they are almost as close to Raffaelle's *School of Athens* as to his later work. What he eliminated was alien or hostile to his new vision, the difference indicating what happened between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation.

One is perhaps making too much of a single generalisation, even though it be in definition of the purpose of this volume. No analysis explains creation and, as to growth, no two painters, as Mr. Johnson says, arrive at a masterpiece by quite the same methods ; and even two masterpieces by the same master may greatly differ in their genesis. They have as much of Minerva in them as of Topsy. Some are parthenogenetic ; some are the work of painters who rely on formal design, and their growth may be traced, as Mr. Johnson traces the permutations and combinations of Poussin's figures, from one composition to another until rhythmic finality is reached.

To direct attention to these analogies is valuable, and one may follow with interest the analysis to which Mr. Johnson submits his selected subjects from twelve painters, ancient and modern. The reader will find his pleasure in having his attention fastened more closely than usual by these ties to the pictures under consideration and will not worry about more remote implications. From his experience as an official lecturer in the London National Gallery the author has added explanatory notes to describe the general character of his painters and their place in the history of art, and his publisher has served him well with fifty-five plates in monochrome and six in colour. Most colour reproductions debase the pictorial coinage. The present are admirably exceptional and reflect their originals with unusual fidelity.

C. P. Curran

Studies in Literature

SOVIET LITERATURE TO-DAY. By George Reavey. London : Lindsay Drummond. 1946. 8s. 6d.

Soviet Literature To-day provides a detailed analysis by a keen and unbiassed critic of present-day trends in Russian literature. Mr. Reavey points out that the multifarious literary trends which existed in the early Soviet state were suppressed after 1929 and that, with the formation of the " Union of Soviet Writers of the U.S.S.R." in 1932, all writers were organised into what is practically a State department, with directions issued from above. Soviet writers have since worked under

the banner of *Socialist realism*, a principle whose definition has varied towards greater or less liberality of interpretation according to the circumstances and developments of the war and post-war periods.

The highest directives have always insisted that the writer must reflect Soviet reality, the dynamic creativeness of the Revolution, of Soviet Man and the Soviet State. That this is still the over-riding aim is shown by the following directive (Reavey, p. 173) published in March 1946 in connection with the new Five Year Plan announced at the same time : " To distinguish the new in life, to guess its imminence and to incarnate that new element in artistic works was always the honourable task of Soviet literature. We must carry on the Gorky traditions of active participation in the daily creative work of the Soviet people. We must continue the labour of creating monumental works wherein the man of our age, the man of the Stalin type, the creator of the Plans, will be revealed in his full stature ; works in which will be shown how was forged the will-power of that man, how his soul was formed and how his consciousness was strengthened, enriched and armed by the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin ".

Since the war, with the growing hostility to the Western Democracies, the propaganda drive has been sharpened and intensified. Official directives stress the fact (Reavey, p. 176) that literature and the arts have been assigned their rôles in the new educative drive " to raise the communist awareness of the people and the technical standard of the masses ". To this end, " all forms and means of ideological and cultural activity of the Party and State have been mobilized : the Press, propaganda and agitation, science, art, literature, the wireless, museums, cultural and educational institutions ".

Among the numerous examples of Soviet literary censorship in this regard one of the most notorious is that of Zoshchenko's autobiography, *When the Sun Rises*, which was partly published in instalments in 1943. Zoshchenko was criticised for being subjective and asocial, and his book was withdrawn from publication. Later (1946) he was dismissed from his editorial post in Leningrad and expelled, with others, from the Union of Writers. Again, Fedin's second volume of memoirs of Gorky (1944) was condemned for being " objective ", for " absence of historical-political background ", for being a " defence of the position of the contemplative artist, the defence of apolitical art ". The reader also may call to mind the more recent and very similar heresy-hunts among Soviet composers of music, a sphere one would have imagined sufficiently safe against the ravages of ideological attack. Even poetry is not immune from the ideological bludgeon : the patriotic children's poem of Chukovsky, *We Shall Vanquish Barmalay* (1943), was denounced for " trivial distortions " and " a clownish interpretation of reality ".

Most readers of Mr. Reavey's detailed study of the Russian censorship will feel, I believe, that such an official organisation of writers and such a stringent censorship, which actually prescribes the whole content of literature and art, can only result in a complete negation of any values which may be called civilised and the degeneration of all literature into a servile reflection of official propaganda.

Mr. Reavey, who possesses a deep and comprehensive knowledge of Russian literature both in the nineteenth century and up to the establishment of the Soviet State, is equally familiar with the very peculiar conditions under which modern Soviet authors have to work. His analyses of the official mentality which directs the Soviet literary world and of its curious ideological terminology are admirably acute and convincing, and provide considerable help towards an understanding of the Russian scene in general. His literary criticism is fresh, intelligent, and sensitive ; and altogether his book provides the best introduction to modern Soviet literature yet published.

J. J. T.

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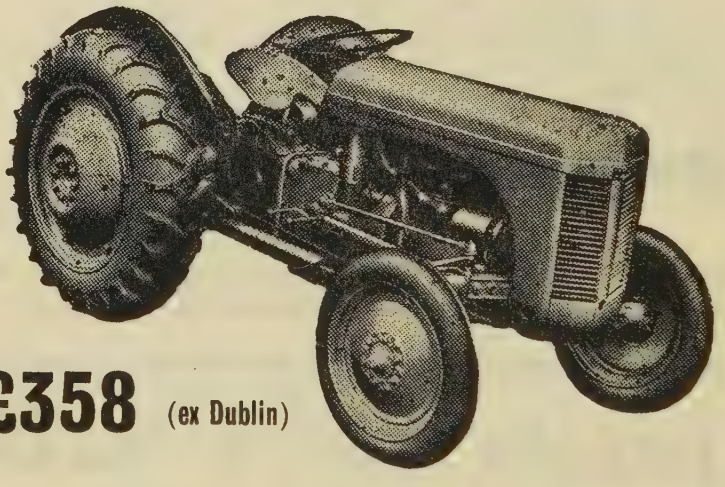

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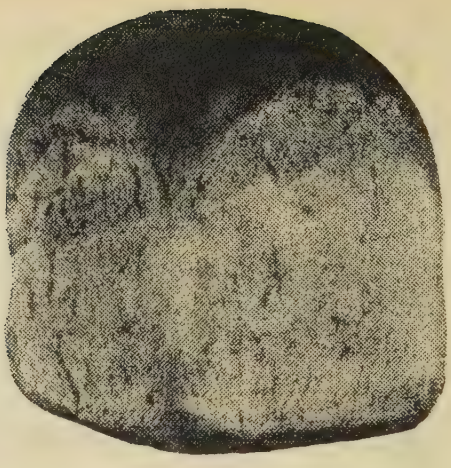

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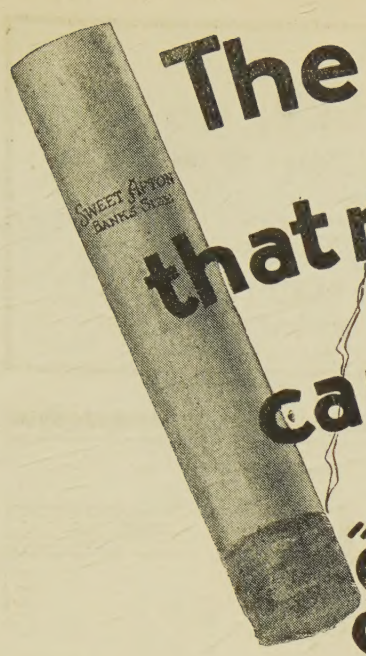

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